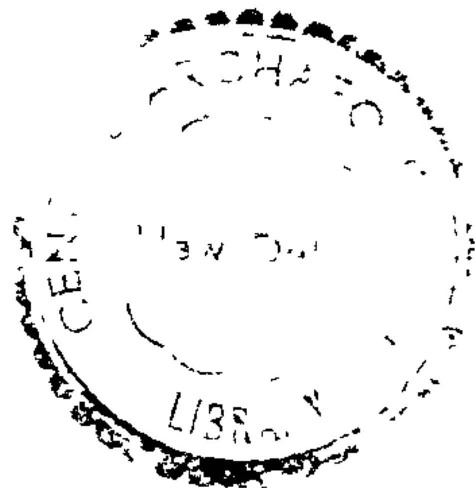
Vols. 16 & 17 inside

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A. K. COOMARASWAMY

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CONTENTS

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ATHENA AND HEPHAISTOS*

'ARTIFEX OPERATUR PER SUUM INTELLECTUM'. ST TH. AQUINAS, 'SUM. THEOL'. I. 14. 8.

In the production of anything made by art, or the exercise of any art, two faculties, respectively imaginative and operative, free and servile, are simultaneously involved ; the former consisting in the conception of some idea in an imitable form, the latter in the imitation (mimesis) of this invisible model (paradeigma) [1] in some material, which is thus in-formed. Imitation, the distinctive character of all the arts, is accordingly two-fold, on the one hand the work of intellect (nous) and on the other of the hands (cheir).[2] These two aspects of the creative activity correspond to the "two in us", viz. our spiritual or intellectual

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*This is the last article written by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

1. An imitation,—"for if it did not effect that, it [painting] would be held to be an idle playing with colours" (Philostratus, 'Vit. Ap.' 2. 22.). Of an invisible model,—cf. Plato, 'Timaeus' 51 E, 92, Rep. 484 C, 510 D, E, 596 B, 'Laws' 931 A ; Plotinus, 'Enneads' 5. 9. 11. "It is in imitation (anukṛti) of divine forms that any human form is invented here . [for instance] this divine harp, of which the human harp is an imitation" ('Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' 6. 27, 'Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka' 8. 9). The painter is to "put down on the wall what has been seen in contemplation" ('tad dhyātam,' Someśvara, 'Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi' ; 1. 3. 158).

Plato of course, by "imitation" means an iconography of things unseen, and deprecates the making of "copies of copies," or realism in the modern sense of the word. It is in the same way only that Apollonius, in Philostratus, 'Vit. Ap.' 6. 19, calls "imagination (phantasia) a wiser artist (demiourgos) than imitation," because the work of the creative artist depends upon "the imagination even of what has not been seen,"—if, indeed, it is not better to make "no images of Gods at all...inasmuch as the intuitive mind (gnome) can draft and represent (anagraphei...kai anatypoutai) better than any artist". This last is what would be called in India a purely "mental" ('manasā') or "subtle" ('sūkṣma') worship.

2. Philostratus, 'Vit. Ap.' 2. 22. cf. 'Śatapatha Br. 3. 2. 4. 11 : "Were it not for intellect, the word would babble incoherently,'' and 'Kauṣītaki Up.' 3 6,. 7 : "When intellect is their rider then all things are effected by the two hands...for indeed, without the cooperation of intellect the two hands would make nothing intelligible,'' i. e., would not know what they were doing.

Self and sensitive psycho-physical Ego, working together (synergoi). The integration of the work of art will depend upon the extent to which the Ego is able and willing to serve the Self, or if the patron and the workman are two different persons, upon the measure of their mutual understanding.

The nature of the two faculties, which are respectively the formal and efficient causes in the production of works of art is clearly stated in Philo's account of the building of the Tabernacle "the construction of which was clearly set forth to Moses on the Mount by divine pronouncements. He saw with the soul's eye the immaterial forms (ideai) of the material things that were to be made, and these forms were to be reproduced as sensible imitations, as it were, of the archetypal graph and intelligible patterns...So the type of the pattern was secretly impressed upon the mind of the Prophet as a thing secretly painted and moulded in invisible forms without material ; and then the finished work was wrought after that type by the artist's imposition of those impressions on the severally appropriate material substances" ; [1] and in more general terms by St Bonaventura, who points out that "the work of art proceeds from the artist according to a model existing in the mind ; which model the artist discovers (excogitat = cintayati) before he produces, and then he produces as he has predetermined. Moreover, the artist produces the external work in the closest possible likeness of the interior model".[2]

The work of art is, then, a product at once of wisdom and method, or reason and art (sophia or logos, and techne).[3] It may be noted here that the primary references of the words 'sophia' and 'episteme', cf. Hebrew 'hochmā' and Sanskrit 'māyā,[4] are to the artist's "cunning" or "science", from which the sense of "wisdom" develops ; and that while "techne" can often be rendered by "art" as opposed to "artless labour"

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1. Philo, 'Moses', 2. 74.-76.
2. St Bonaventura, 'De red. artium ad theologiam,' 12.
3. 'Homeric Hymns' 4. 483, in connection with music. Otherwise expressed, in the case of metalwork, it is by art and reason (he techne kai ho logos) that the material causes, fire and steel, etc., are dominated (Plutarch, 'Mor.' 436. A. B). Cf. references in notes 2, p. 1 and 1, p. 4.
4. Māyā, "von 'mā' = 'man,' vgl. 'metis'...goettliche Kunst" (Grassmann, 'Woerterbuch zum Rigveda') ; cf. Liddell and Scott, s. vv. 'mao' and 'metis'.

(atechnos tribe)[1] this distinction is the same as that of mere "industry" (tribe) from "method" (methodos)[2]. It amounts to the same thing to say that in matters of handicraft or manufacture (cheirotechnike) there is one part more allied to science (episteme), and another less, and that "without enumeration, measurement, and weighing, the arts (technai) would be relatively worthless...and a matter of mere practice and toil" ;[3] or to distinguish art (techne) and mere experience (empeiria) from science (episteme), though the artist needs both.[4] All these dicta provide a background for the mediaeval : 'Ars sine scientia nihil' and 'Scientia reddit opus pulchrum'.

We recognize that for anything to be "well and truly made" the cooperation of the hands as efficient cause and intellect as formal cause is indispensible. The purpose of the present article is to call the attention to the expression of this mythologically in terms of the relation of Athena to Hephaistos, the former being the Goddess of Wisdom who sprang from the head of her father Zeus, and the latter the Titan smith whose wonderful works are produced with the help of Athena as co-worker (syntechnos)[5]. Athena and Hephaistos "share a common nature, being born of the same father" and live together in a common shrine (hieron) or as it were in one and the same house[6] : she is "the mind of God" ('he theou noesis', or 'nous'), and called also Theonoe, and he "the noble scion of light"[7]. From them all men derive their knowledge of

1. Plato, 'Phaedrus' 260 E, cf. 270 B.
2. Aristotle, 'Soph. Elench'. 3. 18.
3. Plato, 'Philebus' 55 D—56 A.
4. Plato, 'Rep.' 422 C, 'Ion' 532 C. 536 C.
5. Plato, 'Statesman' 274 C. for on example of their cooperation cf. Homer, 'Cypria' 5.
6. Plato, 'Critias' 109 C, 112 B.
7. Plato, 'Cratylus' 407 B. For Theonoe as a type cf. Euripides, 'Helen,' passim, e. g. 530, where she "knows all things truly.'' Hephaistos is more properly to be connected with 'Aph' to kindle ; fire being 'phlox Hephaistoio'. Iliad 17. 88. Characteristic epithets of Hephaistos are 'klytometis', "famed for his art", 'klytotechnes' "famed for his craft," and 'klyto ergos', "famed for his work". Athena is 'chari-ergos', "she who—by her wisdom, or science—gives the work its grace or beauty" ('Anth. Pal.' 6. 205),—hers is the "formal cause", or 'exemplary cause", or "art in the artist" by which he works. "Noble" (gennaios), characterising Hephaistos may refer to the common paternity of Hephaistos and Athena ('Critias' 109 C), but may rather mean "faithful", by no means implying that his function is not servile, cf. Euripides, 'Helen' 729, 1641, where 'gennaios' goes with 'doulos', and implies a freedom only of the mind (nous), in the sense of Philo's 'Quod omnis probus liber sit' ; cf. Aeschylus, 'Prometheus' 45, where Hephaistos works for Zeus at a task that he "hates".

the arts, either directly or indirectly; "Hephaistos, famous for his art (klytometis),[1] aided by Athena of the gleaming eyes, taught glorious works to men on earth"[2]; or it was Prometheus who stole from them "immanent artistic wisdom (entechnon sophian) and fire", and gave them to men "as a divine portion (moira)"[3].

Here the words 'entechnos' and 'moira' imply that the human "artist in possession of his art" (entechnos demiourgos)[4] is such by participation (methexis, metalepsis) in the Master Architect's creative power. Athena and Hephaistos, in fact, "agreeing in their love of wisdom and of craftsmanship (philosophia and philotechnia), both together chose this land of ours as being naturally fitted to be the home of virtue and wisdom, and therein they planted as native to the soil good men, and set in their minds the structure of the art of government"[5]. All this means that the human artist—say, the blacksmith at his forge—in possession of his art has within him both a wisdom and a method, a science and a skill; and that as a whole man, responsible for both operations, free and servile, and capable alike of imagination and of execution, is of the nature of

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1. For metis = 'māyā' see note 4, p. 2. Cf. 'Iliad' 10. 19 'syn metin...tektegaito' and Pindar, 'Olympian Odes' 9. 78 where 'technais = 'māyābhiḥ.' Metis as a person is the first wife of Zeus, reborn from his head as Athena (Hesiod 'Th'. 886); the story implying that "the chief god has Wisdom always within him" (H. J. Rose, 'Greek Mythology,' p. 50); 'metieta' (for 'metietes') as an epic epithet of Zeus corresponding to Sanskrit 'māyin'; so that "if you would create an image of Zeus you must intuit, or conceive ('ennoein = 'excogitare', Skr. 'dhyai') encampments, art (metin), and the artistic skills (technas), and how she flowered forth from Zeus himself" (Philostratus, 'Vit. Ap.' 6. 19). Athena is a "worker" ('ergane', Sophocles, fr. 724), as in Latin "operosa Minerva" with Vulcan; and it may be observed that 'energeia' = 'ousia' and is contrasted with 'hyle' (Aristotle, 'Met'. 7. 2. 1, and 6), as 'logos' and 'techne' are contrasted with the material they control (Plutarch, 'Mor'. 436 A, B). Just as, also, for St Th. Aquinas, the artist works 'per verbum in intellectu conceptum', 'Sum. Theol'. 1. 45. 6.

2. 'Homeric Hymns' 20; Plato, 'Critias' 109 C, D.

3. Plato, 'Protagoras' 321 D—322 A.

4. Plato, 'Laws' 903 C; cf. 'Phaedrus' 277 B, where 'to entechnon kai me' are distinguished according to an author's knowledge or ignorance of that of which he treats, and 'Symposium' 209 A, distinguishing "inventive" (heuristikoi) from other artists. For Aristotle, 'Rhet'. 1. 1. 11. and 1. 2. 2, the distinction is that of one whose work is done according to "the laws of art" (entechnos methodos) from one who is not such an expert (atechnos). With 'entechnos' cf. 'entheos, energeia', 'ennoia', "inwit", etc.

5. 'Critias' 109 C, D. For the art of government (politeia) as tantamount to the arts in general see 'Rep'. 342,—every art (techne) being a ruler of and stronger than that of which it is an art and for the sake of which it operates.

Athena and Hephaistos both : it is Athena who inspires what Hephaistos effects. So we have Phereclus "whose hands were knowing (epistato) to fashion all manner of wondrous works (daidala), because Athena loved him"[1], and the carpenter who is called "a master of wisdom as to form, by the promptings of Athena[2]. In this relationship Athena's function, in that she is the source of the formal cause or pattern of the work to be done, is essentially authoritative and paternal rather than receptive or feminine, we need not be surprised to find that the artist's "inspiration" (empnoia, empneusis), or "the divine power (dynamis = śakti) that moves him," is referred to often as "the God", the immanent "Daimon", or Eros, that is to say the Spirit to whom the very word "inspiration" points[3].

On the other hand when the servile operation alone is performed by the merely "productive mechanic" (banausikos) who does not understand what he is doing, however industrious he may be, then his service becomes a matter of only "unskilled labour" (atechnos tribe)[4] and he is reduced to the condition of the mere slave who earns money for a master[5], or mere "hand" (cheirotechnes) rather than an architect or lover of wisdom[6]. This is precisely the position of the modern chain-belt

1. 'Iliad' 5. 61. Hardly to be distinguished from the Sophia of Heph[illegible] "the Sophia of Daidalus" (Plato, 'Euthyphro' 11 E) ; and the like must hold good for Regin, W[illegible] and the other great mythical smiths.

2. 'Iliad' 15. 410-411.

3. On inspiration see my 'Figures of Thought or Figures of Speech', 19[illegible] and s. v. in 'The Dictionary of the Arts'.

4. Plato, 'Phaedrus' 260 E, cf. 270 B.

5. Xenophon, 'Mem'. 3. 11. 4

6. Aristotle, 'Met'. 1. 1. 17. ; Xenophon, 'Vect'. 5. 4.

worker, in whom the industrial system whether capitalistic or totalitarian, has divided Athena from Hephaistos.[1]

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1. All this is, of course, perfectly well known. "Validation of success in terms of externals has become the mark of our civilization. In such a value-system human relations take on the values of the salesman...Under such conditions men everywhere become nasty, brutish, and cruel...Unless Wesnter man is able to release himself from the degrading tyranny of his enslavement to the religion of economics he is as certainly doomed to self destruction as all the portents indicate that he is" (M. E. Ashley Montagu in 'School and Society', vil. 65, no. 1696, 1947). "Today, under the centralised economic order, we appear to be descending below the level of the beast, hating, exploiting and destroying each other on a world scale, and reducing the average man to a standardised automaton incapable of thinking and acting for himself" (Bharatan Kumarappa, 'Capitalism, Socialism, or Villagism ?' 1946, p. 194). There are two positions : that of the tradesman, that "however much...individuals suffer, progression in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilization must be allowed free course" (Sir George Watt, in 'Indian Art at Delhi,' 1912), and that of the humanist, that "however much an economic system may succeed in bringing riches it will be unstable and prove a failure if in the process it causes human suffering, or in any way hinders people from a full life" (Bharatan Kumarappa, ibid. p. 112). Let us choose between them.

RENAISSANCE OF INDIAN CULTURE

by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Our problem is not so much one of the rebirth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it. This culture is valid for us not so much because it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time, its special forms are adapted to a specifically Indian nature and inheritance, and are appropriate to us in the same way that a national costume is appropriate to those who have a right to wear it. We cut a sorry figure in our foreign and hybrid clothes, looking neither like ourselves nor like anyone else on earth. We invite the ridicule of foreign musicians when we play the harmonium. We cannot expect to meet cultured Europeans when we know nothing of Indian culture.

The younger generation of go-getters that comes to America to study, and that will largely shape the course of Indian social and educational policies in the immediate future is, for the most part, as ignorant of Indian traditions and cultural values as any European might be, and sometimes more so ; and just because of this lack of background cannot grasp the American and European problems that confront it. Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect". Because they have yet to "discover" India, they have not realised that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture, but "an organized barbarism" and a political pandemonium. They have no more the moral courage to "be themselves" without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else—than had their predecessors on whom a so-called Western education had been more forcibly imposed in missionary colleges or government-controlled universities.

It will take many a long year yet for Indians to recover their spontaneity. For the present, most of our "educated" men are just as much as Americans dominated by the current catchwords of "equality," "democracy", "progress", and "literacy". In the past, and still today, Indians have earned and deserved much of the contempt of the Europeans whom they have flattered so sincerely by an imitation of all their habits and ways of thinking. We, too, are on our way to become a nation of Shudras, at the same time industrious and ignorant. Notwithstanding that all philosophy refers to the 'whole-man' we seek to become mere 'hands', 'cogs in a wheel', 'copies of copies'—we have learnt from the modern world to despise wisdom and push everything aside to 'leap before we look'.

On the other side of the Indian picture are the great figures of such Indian sociologists as Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa. Both are advocates of forms of human association unfavourable to war, and both are significant as much for the rest of the world as for India, in this age of violence. Unlike the Utopists of the modern West, neither of these men supposes that the ills of the world can be cured by planning or economic means alone, without a change of heart. Both are seeking to restore forms of social organization in which human values shall predominate over those of a "success" evaluated only in terms of money.

In particular, Bharatan Kumarappa's masterly work, 'Capitalism, Socialism, or Villagism ?' is a reasoned argument for decentralization, local self-sufficiency, small-scale manufacture, and the restoration of direct personal relations between the producers and the consumers of the necessaries of life ; and that involves the whole of our culture, since it is the natural and proper function of the arts to provide for all the needs of the whole-man, as a physical and metaphysical person at one and the same time.

Again, throughout the ages, India has been a land of profound religious convictions and of equally generous religious tolerance. Here at least, if nowhere else, it is still possible for men to think of their own faith as the natural friend and ally of all others in a common cause. It has been said that in the West, religion is fast becoming an archaic and impossible refuge. But in India it still provides for both the hearts and minds of

men, and gives them an inalienable dignity ; and because of this, the natural connection of religion with sociology and politics has never been broken. There is no such opposition of sacred to profane as is taken for granted in the modern West ; in our experience, culture and religion have been indivisible ; and that, in our inheritance, is what we can least of all afford to abandon.

Indian women, at the present day and in so far as they have not yet been "brought up to date", are our best conservators of Indian culture. And let us not forget that in a country like India, any judgment of standards of culture in terms of statistics of literacy would be ridiculous. Literacy in the modern world of magazines and newspapers is no guarantee of culture whatever, and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read.

At this time there is an immediate and desperate need for the establishment of cultural, and not merely economic and political contacts with the rest of the world. No doubt, the West is very largely to be blamed for its own cultural isolation, which amounts to a very real provincialism, but the blame is also ours, for our students and other representatives abroad are more often engineers, or physicists, or politicians than men of culture,—where they ought to have been both at once, able to contribute something more than their fees to those from whom they come to learn the newest techniques.

When the culture that we now propose to restore was alive, the learned men of foreign countries came from far away to study in India. The measure of our culture is not that of our ability to learn new tricks, but that of what we have to give.

I have been asked : "What is your message to the new India of our dreams ?" This is my answer : "Be your Self. Follow Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatan Kumarappa, D. V. Gundappa, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffar Khan, and Śrī Rāmana Mahārṣi. Co-operate with such men as the Earl of Portsmouth, George Bourne, Wilfrid Wellock, Marco Pallis, René Guénon, Jean Giono, and Fernando Nobre". Do not consider the inferior philosophers. "Be not deceived : evil communications corrupt good manners "*

* Address given at the Hindustan Association, Boston, August 15, 1947.

DR. COOMARASWAMY'S TALK AT HIS BOSTON DINNER

I am more than honoured—somewhat, indeed, overcome—by your kindness in being here tonight, by the messages that have been read, and by the presentation of Mr. Bharatha Iyer's Festschrift. I should like to recall the names of four men who might have been present had they been living: Dr. Denman W. Ross, Dr. John Lodge, Dr. Lucien Scherman, and Professor James Woods, to all of whom I am indebted. The formation of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts was almost wholly due to the initiative of Dr. Denman Ross; Dr. Lodge, who wrote little, will be remembered for his work in Boston and Washington and also perhaps for his aphorism, "From the Stone Age until now, quelle degringolade"; I still hope to complete a work on Reincarnation with which Dr. Scherman charged me not long before his death; and Professor Woods was one of those teachers who can never be replaced.

More than half of my active life has been spent in Boston. I want to express my gratitude in the first place to the Directors and Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, who have always left me entirely free to carry on research not only in the field of Indian art but at the same time in the wider field of the whole traditional theory of art and of the relation of man to his work, and in the fields of comparative religion and metaphysics to which the problems of iconography are a natural introduction. I am grateful also to the American Oriental Society whose editors, however much they differed from me "by temperament and training", as Professor Norman Brown once said, have always felt that I had a "right to be heard", and have allowed me to be heard. And all this despite the fact that such studies as I have made necessarily led me back to an enunciation of relatively unpopular sociological

doctrines. For, as a student of human manufactures, aware that all making is 'per artem', I could not but see that, as Ruskin said, "Industry without art is brutality", and that men can never be really happy unless they bear an individual responsibility not only for what they do but for the kind and the quality of whatever they make. I could not fail to see that such happiness is for ever denied to the majority under the conditions of making that are imposed upon them by what is euphemistically called "free enterprise", that is to say, under the condition of production for profit rather than for use ; and no less denied in those totalitarian forms of society in which the folk is just as much as in a capitalistic regime reduced to the level of a proletariat. Looking at the works of art that are considered worthy of preservation in our Museums, and that were once the common objects of the market place, I could not but realise that a society can only be considered truly civilised when it is possible for every man to earn his living by the very work he would rather be doing than anything else in the world,—a condition that has only been attained in social orders integrated on the basis of vocation, 'svadharma'.

At the same time I should like to emphasize that I have never built up a philosophy of my own or wished to establish a new school of thought. Perhaps the greatest thing I have learned is never to think for myself ; I fully agree with André Gide that 'Toutes choses sont dites déja', and what I have sought is to understand what has been said, while taking no account of the "inferior philosophers". Holding with Heraclitus that the Word is common to all, and that Wisdom is to know the Will of whereby all things are steered, I am convinced with Jeremias that the human cultures in all their apparent diversity are but the dialects of one and the same language of the spirit, that there is a "common universe of discourse" transcending the differences of tongues.

This is my 70th birthday, and my opportunity to say : Farewell. For this is our plan, mine and my wife's, to retire and return to India next year ; thinking of this as an 'astaṃ gamana', "going home". There we expect to rejoin our son Rama, who after travelling with Marco Pallis in Sikkim and speaking Tibetan there, is now at the Gurukula Kangri learning Sanskrit and Hindi with the very man, Pandit Vagishvarji.

with whom my wife was studying there twelve years ago. We mean to remain in India, now a free country, for the rest of our lives.

I have not remained untouched by the religious philosophies I have studied and to which I was led by way of the history of art. 'Intellige ut credas !' In my case, at least, understanding has involved belief ; and for me the time has come to exchange the active for a more contemplative way of life in which it would be my hope to experience more immediately, more fully at least a part of the truth of which my understanding has been so far predominantly logical. And so, though I may be here for another year, I ask you also to say "goodbye",—equally in the etymological sense of the word and in that of the Sanskrit 'Svagā' a salutation that expresses the wish "May you come into your own", that is, may I know and become what I am, no longer this man So and so, but the Self that is also the Being of all beings, my Self and your Self.

IN MEMORIAM

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Ex divina pulchritudine esse omnium derivatur

Ananda Coomaraswamy's mind was nourished by two extremely distinct cultures, the cultures of India and of the Occident. We may doubt whether such a duality is always a blessing in terms of peace and happiness, because the abundance of impressions and the tension of contrasts may sometimes be too heavy a burden. But in the case of Ananda Coomaraswamy the tension—which certainly existed in this sensitive soul—was of a productive kind ; it was a challenge under which his own personality developed into depths and heights generally unknown to weak mortals and from which we all have profited who are here assembled to pay homage to a great and dear friend. For through interpreting the East to his Western contemporaries he has helped them to better understand their own West, and through interpreting the West to his Indian compatriots, not only in its greatness, but also in its menace, he has helped them to better understand their own oriental culture.

But merely as an analysist of cultures Ananda Coomaraswamy would not be sufficiently characterized. There are, though not many, but nevertheless a few, who have done the same. Perhaps he could achieve his mastership in analysis only because he was one of the last great polyhistors, or men of universal knowledge, as far as our time still allows such always relative achievement. We know that as a young man he was one of the most promising scientists trained by the University of London, and entrusted with the difficult task of exploring the geology of his native country Ceylon. During all his life nature and its beauty were for him a source of unending inspiration and recreation. In the company of his wife who, as we all know, followed him not only along the

paths of Nature, but also along the paths of the Spirit, he liked to show to his friends the plants he cultivated at his home.

But he soon extended his search into nature over into the search for the creative forces which work in the appearances of the Mind, though he never separated the two, for there always was a grain of pantheism in Ananda Coomaraswamy as in all great mystics. In one of his addresses he calls himself an orientalist who is "in fact almost as much a Platonist as a Mediaevalist". But what did it mean for him to be an orientalist ? It meant for him to become one of the greatest experts of Oriental art, not only Indian, but Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and Japanese as well. It meant being a philosophical as well as a philological knower of the great sources of Indian religious insight, a philosopher not in the sense of a mere historian of ideas, but in the true sense of an Indian "Guru", a "destroyer of darkness", who understands how to keep the torch of light burning so that it can be carried unhurt from ancient to ever new generations, and a philologist not in the sense of an expert in words, or a literary critic, but of an expert in meanings, capable of following the significance of a term through the ancient languages of the East and the West up into our great modern literatures. Thus the Platonist and Mediaevalist merged in him with the Orientalist, and in consequence of the greatness of the fusion it will be difficult to state in which field he excelled more.

But even the wealth of comparative knowledge explains by no means the uniqueness of Ananda Coomaraswamy's mind and his influence on his friends. Also here there may be other men, though only a very, very few, who possess a similarly vast knowledge. The miracle rather is how a man with a knowledge extending over so various fields of nature and culture could avoid becoming an encyclopaedist in the quantitave sense of the word. How could his pansophia, his familiarity with so many things and ideas, develop into such a profound synthesis and unity that every part in this wide expanse could become a symbol and representation of the whole ?

In asking this question we come, it seems to me, close to the centre of Ananda's personality, so far, at least, as friends can understand each other. In going through an unusual wealth of experiences and in leading

his mind into the most distant fields of knowledge, he not only broadened, but also found himself. And he could do so only because he was given the grace and he knew that it was grace of uniting his ever-growing self with the spiritual Centre of the world for which we have only symbolical expressions such as the Brahma of the Indians, the Logos of the Platonists, and the Urquell of Meister Eckart. Thus, to use a phrase of Ananda Coomaraswamy's friend, the French philosopher René Guénon, 'l'ordre cosmique et l'ordre humain' became one and the same in the thought and work of Ananda.

In consequence of this firmly established order of values he threw overboard rigorously all that seemed to him unessential, becoming one of the sharpest critics of our modern quantitative civilization and its destructive influences on the souls of men, and an uncompromising defender of the cultures he considered still to be embedded in the deeper matrix of life, as against those he considered uprooted. At the same time the unity he felt in the order of the cosmos expressed itself more and more also in his own creations. There are few men whose style of writing is so cogently expressive of their style of thinking as his. As in old pieces of rare craftsmanship there is not a part in his sentences that could be taken out of its context without destroying the whole meaning; there is not one of his hundreds of quotations from many ages and literatures which could appear as a mere display of scholarship. Nor is there any comparison in his writings which moves merely on the horizontal level—just adding one idea to the other because of some external similarity. All his comparisons point toward a common centre in which the individual phenomena participate so that one can be explained with reference to the other. Finally, all the essays written by Ananda Coomaraswamy are linked together like the pillars and girders in a beautifully constructed edifice, though he never wrote a philosophical "system" in the usual sense of the word.

Needless to say, this unio mystica between Ananda's individual mind and the Universal Mind would not help us to explain his thought and style unless it gave us also a clue to the understanding of his personality. Everyone who met him was impressed by the dignity and kindness which radiated from him like rays of warmth from a gentle fire. Yet, as

with all great men who are really kind and not only polite, one also felt that this gentle fire could burst into flames of passion if the sanctuary of his beliefs was violated by people of bad will or ignorance. Therefore he dared tell any Western audience, however illustrious, what he thought about Western imperialism, its cultural arrogance and its false misssionary zeal. But even in his hours of ire the great "Hen kai Pan", or the Universal Spirit, stood behind him as a force of reconciliation. He rarely attacked the sins of Western men without saying at the same time, "Why did you not listen to the better men in your own midst ? Not to Lord Macaulay and Rudyard Kipling, but to the reverential wisdom of James Tod, Sir George Birdwood, and Sister Nivedita ?"

No one can express himself in this continuous unity of devotion and objectivity, of attachment and detachment, no one can act so valiantly as Ananda Coomaraswamy, and at the same time retain the broad perspectives of rationality, unless he has achieved the unio mystica of which we spoke and has opened the windows of his soul to the influx of the Divine. Few men, therefore, were so entitled as he was to explain to us the sacred writings of his home country, especially the Bhagavad-Gita, in which we find :

Thus action is of Brahma, who is One
The Only, All-pervading ; at all times
Present in sacrifice. He that abstains
To help the rolling wheels of this great world,
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain.................

....
...Therefore, thy task prescribed
With spirit unattached gladly perform,
Since in performance of plain duty man
Mounts to his highest bliss.

It was not a humble resignation on the part of Ananda Coomaraswamy, but rather the deepest fulfilment of his proud belief in the ultimate superiority of the Spirit that he said to us at his seventieth birthday, "I wish to tell you that I have added nothing new." Through achieving in his own life the inner unity which exists essentially

between Being and Becoming, Mind and Nature, Art and Craftsmanship, Attachment and Detachment, Action and Contemplation, Ananda Coomaraswamy has become for us the living symbol of the Philosophia Perennis, in which he believed, an oasis in the deserts of modernity, a living truth of the words which he used as the motto for his essay on The Mediaeval Theory of Beauty and which we quoted at the beginning :

Ex divina pulchritudine esse omnium derivatur.

INDIAN PAINTING IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD: A REVISED HISTORICAL OUTLINE

by H. GOETZ

Introductory Remarks: The purpose of this outline is not simply to recapitulate, condensed and corrected, the results of existing publications, books or articles, but to unrol the history of Indian painting during the Muslim period in its political and culture historical setting. This has already been done for Mughal art in the 16th and 17th centuries. But Rājput painting was treated with hardly any regard to the political vicissitudes of the Hindus under Muslim domination, or to the history of Hindu civilization in this period. The relation and many inter-connections between Mug͟hal and Rājput art have been completely ignored, chiefly as the result of an arbitrary classification and chronology. The links between ancient and later Indian painting have been traced, but not their actual relation which can be understood only against the background of the other contemporary arts. Muslim painting of the 13th-early 16th centuries has been a terra incognita. Moreover, much new material on the early and late history of Rājput painting, and recent researches on Marātha art have been incorporated. On the other hand is it not the purpose of this outline to go into all the details of the better known schools and their artists, as this would have upset the balance of the general culture historical picture to be unrolled.

Historical Background: All aspects of Indian cultural life during the Muslim Period which for our purpose may be reckoned from the battle of Tarāin in A. D. 1192 to the definitive disappearance of the Mug͟hal Dynasty in A. D. 1858, were determined by the conflict and interplay of two races, Hindus (including the Jains) and Turks (as the group dominating Arab, Persian, Habshī and even European adventurers

and Indian converts to Islām), two religions, Hinduism and Islām, and two civilizations, half-nomadic Central and Western Asian, and mainly agriculturist Indian culture.

The Indian society overrun by the Muslims was a feudal aristocracy served by and supporting an exclusive priesthood with esoteric teachings : In the North the Rājputs— Indian frontier tribesmen swept by the Mongols, Hūnas and the Scythian Gurjaras into North-Western and Central India and there mixed with other tribes of early Indian or Kushāno-Scythian ancestry ; in the South mainly warriors coming from the mountainous back areas neglected in the preceding periods. This feudal society collapsed before the Muslim invasions in consequence of a latent social and religious revolution, the refractoriness of the provincial squires against the refined court aristocracy, and the stirrings of a new popular religiosity of predominantly Vaishnava character (Krishna and Vithoba). When after the Muslim victories Hindu society recovered, the old dynasties had disappeared or retreated into inaccessible mountains and deserts, and new families claiming to be scions of former ruling houses had risen.

The Hindus of the Deccan recovered first, thanks to the civil wars which in the 14th century broke up the gigantic Tughluq Empire into a number of quarrelling successor sultanates. They formed the Vijayanagar Empire which, backed by a vast, hardly affected hinterland, withstood the Muslims until 1565. The renaissance of pre-Muslim Indian civilization attempted at by the Vijayanagar rulers, however, was increasingly interpreted in a new popular spirit, in art, in Telugu literature, in bhakti religiosity. After the fall of Vijayanagar part of its heritage was handed down, through refugees, to Bījāpur and Ahmad-nagar, and after the disintegration of the latter under Mughal pressure, to the rising Rājput states.

During the Muslim civil wars of the 14th century also the Rājputs began to reassert their independence ; but sandwiched between the warring Muhammedan kingdoms, and forced to start practically anew in the cultural field, their progress was much slower but also much sounder than that of Vijayanagar. By the middle of the 15th century their position was consolidated, early in the 16th they had become rivals

to all the surrounding sultanates. After having broken a very obstinate resistance, Akbar the Great finally made them his vassals, under very honourable conditions. In the course of the 15th century a new cultural life had developed in Rājputānā and Bundelkhand, first leaning on the remnants of Mediaeval Hindu tradition surviving in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, but first evolving its own national style after assimilating other influences, especially from Mālwa. When the Rājput princes grew rich as Mughal generals and governors, they began, however, to adopt more and more of Mughal civilization and when early in the 18th century the empire began to disintegrate, Rājputānā became the principal heir of Delhi, Lāhore and Āgra. But when after the disappearance of Mughal control the Rājput states and clans started fighting against each other, and the Marāthas, overrunning Northern India, plundered Gujarāt, Rājputānā, Mālwa and Bundelkhand, the increasing poverty forced the artists and artisans to find work at the Marātha courts. Only after the last Marātha wars and the subsidiary alliances the Rājput states and Rājput civilization recovered, until the impact of modern life destroyed an already degenerated tradition.

The Rājput states in the Himālaya were of far less importance. They, too, recovered with the decline of the Tughluq Empire, and imitated the 15th-16th century renaissance movement. Only a few princes such as the rājās of Nūrpur or Basohlī played a modest role as Mughal officers, but Nūrpur rebelled against Shāhjahān and was, like Kāngrā, crushed and occupied by Mughal garrisons. In the cultural field these states had to be content with whatever the greater Rājput princes discarded in favour of Mughal civilization. Their opportunity came with the Persian and Afghān invasions since A. D. 1737 and 1747 ff., and the Sikh guerilla war against those invaders who relieved them from political pressure and enriched them, as trade was forced to follow the more difficult, but safer hill route. Thus they built up the three federations of Jammū, Chambā and Kāngrā, with their modest, but refined civilization. When, however, since the end of the 18th century the expanding Gurkhā, British and Sikh powers converged towards the Western Himālaya, most of these small states were swallowed up except Garhwāl, the Simla group, Chambā and Jammū

(under a side line of the dynasty in the Sikh service), and their civilization was absorbed by the kingdoms of Ranjit Singh and Gulāb Singh. The Arab conquest of Sind in A. D. 711 was followed by the disintegration of the 'Abbāsid Empire a century later. And the Ghaznavid conquest of the Punjāb (ca. A. D. 1000) was paralyzed by the Saljuq invasion of Īrān. In the event both proved to have been no more than a mere preparatory phase. From backward outposts of Hindu culture both provinces became not less unimportant outposts of Muslim civilization.

First with the advance of Muhammad Ghorī and of his generals into the heart of Hindustān, Bengal and Rājputānā a real Muslim polity in India was founded. The Mongol invasion of Turkistān, Īrān and Irāq, spilling over into the Punjāb, hindered the expansion of this Mamlūk kingdom, but, by isolating it from the rest of the Muslim world, shaped also its individual character of a colonial military state conserving a late Saljuq culture until deep into the 14th century. When the danger had been averted, its concentrated military power exploded under the Khaljīs and Tughluqs over the whole of India in a megalomaniac imperialism which annihilated both Mediaeval Hindu society and its own colonial aristocracy. When India was at last completely disorganized and exhausted, this predatory imperialism collapsed. Unable to collect the taxes and threatened with a cruel death, the governors rebelled, and the impoverished sultāns were helpless visavis the general revolution of the exasperated provinces.

The overwhelming majority of the Muslim aristocracy of the successor states were Indian converts, children of the soil whose attitude towards Hindu civilization was one of religious toleration, economic consideration and cultural adaptation as far as religious bigotry permitted it. Only the Bahmanī kingdom in the South, frontier march against Vijayanagar, preserved a colonial mentality, attracting adventurers from the Muslim world and cultivating contemporary Muslim (i. e. early Tīmūrid-Persian) culture. However, after the fall of Vijayanagar also the successor sultanates of the Bahmanī state followed the lead of the North in the matter of toleration and cultural synthesis.

With the foundation of the Mughal universal state this process



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reached its apogee. The first, "colonial" and purely Central Asian-Turkish phase of Mughal conquest had lacked stability. By entering into an alliance with the proud Rājputs, Akbar the Great stabilized the Mughal state, but opened also the gates to Hindu influence. The Mughal state and Mughal civilization retained a genuine Indian character even after Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb had relapsed into an increasingly one-sided Muslim policy. When after Bahādur Shāh's death in 1712 the empire disintegrated into a mixed Muslim-Hindu federation at last dominated by the Marāthas, this civilization became that of all the courts of India, from Kāngrā and Jammū in the North to Tanjore in the South.

The invasions of Nādir, Ahmad and Tīmūr Shāh were a political failure. They broke up the Mughal Empire in favour of the Marāthas, smashed the latter merely to be expelled by the Sikhs, and achieved no more than a short-lived control over Kashmīr. But for some influence on Kashmīrī civilization and on the 19th century Indo-Muslim costume they have left no direct heritage.

The British, however, who actually took over the heritage of the Mughal Empire, expanded their control very cautiously. For thirty years after the Mughal emperor had become their pensioner, they maintained the fiction of acting as his representatives, and European influence likewise infiltrated almost imperceptibly. Thus peace and economic recovery permitted a last cultural renaissance until with the Mutiny and the construction of the railways also this last echo of the Indo-Muslim period disappeared.

Social Background : Both the Hindu and the Muslim societies of this period were feudal, the first of a hereditary character, the latter a military hierarchy. Both were bound by religion and custom to treat their correligionists well, but there existed practically no check on the power of the military classes except the personal ideals and goodwill of the rulers, the respect of the nobles and the old experience that you should not kill the goose laying your golden eggs. In this society the painter occupied a very modest place, a small artisan working in the personal employ of a ruler or noble, or in the bazar. He was poorly paid, and obliged to please his protector or protectors with presents (nazars) of some small (genre or religious) pictures on the occasion of the

principal festivals. Not seldom he was expected to work for nothing in acknowledgment of the protection or toleration he was enjoying, and could risk ill-treatment if he refused to do so. He could feel lucky if he was taken into the personal service of the mighty, either individually or as a hand in a larger establishment (kār-k͟hāna). If he was very lucky, he might be granted some land and obtain some small office as a member of the court gentry.

Such artists, of course, could not consciously cultivate a personal style, though their individual capacities and interests come out on closer investigation. Their style was formed by the taste of their employers, and whoever could not adapt himself, risked to lose his job. Thus Hindu painters worked for Muslim employers, and Muslims executed Hindu religious pictures for Rājput of Sikh maecenes. Hindu painters tried to adapt their style to the Persian or naturalistic ideals of the Mug͟hals and Mug͟hal artists endeavoured to satisfy the predilection of Rājput thākurs and rājās for a musical linearism and romantic emotionalism. As the fortunes of Hindu and Muslim aristocracies rose and fell with the vicissitudes of war and politics, few permanent schools developed, and even these were influenced by the work of interlopers from outside.

Moreover, the attitude towards painting of the classes giving work to the painters was very different, though they influenced each other. For the Hindus and Jains it was a predominantly religious art, though the latter—wealthy merchants—were before all interested in a costly execution, especially gilding, whereas the Śaivas and Vaishnavas expected an emotional appeal in harmony with the bhakti attitude of their faith. For the Muslims it was a secular art which the more bigoted ones regarded as prohibited by religious law, whereas the more tolerant ones regarded this prohibition as referring only to religious subjects. Thus painting was more or less an art to amuse the ladies of the zenānas, or to illustrate scientific books. But both Hindus and Muslims needed painters for a practical purpose, as a sort of "press photographers" taking the portraits of prominent people and pictures of important events.

The Early Indo-Muslim Schools : Very little is known of Muslim painting in India before the coming of the Mug͟hals. Literary evidence shows that it flourished, but only a few examples are known, all of the

early 16th century. However, when carefully examined in the light of what we know of the general cultural trends of those centuries, these latter permit a reconstruction, at least in great outlines, of those early schools. And it is probable that when the general style type will have been ascertained, also actual examples of the 13th—15th centuries will be found amongst the many still unidentified local schools of "Arabic" and "Persian" painting.

Under the Mamlūk, Khiljī and Tughluq sultans of Delhi a variety of the "Baghdād school" of the 13th and 14th centuries must have been in fashion. On the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire this style was continued at least under the sultāns of Gujarāt where it assimilated some characteristics of local Jain and Hindu painting. When the Ahmadābād sultanate likewise declined and at last was conquered by Akbar, some artists working in this manner must have emigrated to Mārwār, Bīkāner and other Rājput courts, where the last vestiges of this style can be traced in some early Rājput MSS. In other early Rājput MSS. also slight vestiges of the Saljuq-Īrānian style, apparently handed down in Mālwa, can be traced, whereas some early Mughal tombs at Sarhind reveal slight reminiscences of the Mongol (Nestorian-Uigur ?) style of the Jamī-at-Tawārīkh MS. in London and Edinburgh, probably conserved in Kashmīr. When the beautiful "Tīmūrid" Persian miniature style of the late 14th and 15th centuries reached India, is difficult to say. It was known in Mālwa and Bengal at least in the early 16th century, and probably also at Delhi under the Lodīs and Sayyids. Under the later Bahmanīs it must have been common, as it forms one of the ingredients traceable in the style of the earliest known miniatures from Bījāpur and Ahmadnagar ; this Bahmanī variety differed from its Persian model by a stricter geometrical composition, such as it is found also in early Rājput miniatures.

The Survival of Mediaeval Indian Painting : As far as the few surviving fragments from Bengal, Bihār, Kulū, Madanpur and Gujarāt permit us to judge, Mediaeval Indian painting must in the centuries preceding the Muslim conquest still have conserved most of the Gupta tradition. The style had become more mannered, the treatment as a whole more summary and elegant, with strong, sweeping outlines, flat

surfaces and often overcrowded composition. All this was now annihilated. The painters of the more sophisticated "Eastern School" flourishing in the Ganges plains took refuge in Nepāl, Tibet and Ladakh, but lost contact with India after the submersion of Buddhism there. Kashmīr painting, originally forming part of the "Western School", fell after the Muslim conquest of the Panjāb under the influence of the "Eastern School", but at last was likewise pushed back into Ladakh. The "Western School" flourished in Rājputānā, Central India and Gujarāt, survived in inaccessible retreats of the Thar Desert, the Aravallīs, Kāthiāwār and Eastern Gujarāt. But under the unfavourable conditions it was quickly petrified to a set of purely ornamental formulas for the illustration of religious palm leaf manuscripts which, alone, had a chance to escape Muslim iconoclasm. Only in the Southern Deccan the great Mediaeval fresco style was continued under the protection of the rājās of Vijayanagar, but it, too, underwent a gradual transformation into a folk style. Its final stage is known to us only from the reliefs of the great throne terrace at Hampi, but must have been the same in painting, to conclude from its introduction into the pictorial art of Bījāpur and Ahmadnagar after the disaster of Talikota.

The Gujarat School in the 15th and early 16th Centuries : Under the toleration of the sultāns of Ahmadābād the ossified West-Indian palm leaf style first assumed a rather fashionable elegance and then, with the greater facility of drawing provided by the introduction of paper, was transformed into a vivid folk style of a very charming naiveté. However, as their typology was already fixed, the Jain illustrations relapsed, after a shortlived renaissance, into a dead mannerism, and came to a modest life only much later, under the influence of Mug̱hal and Rājput art. But with Hindu book illustration the case was different. The popular mass enthusiasm of bhakti mysticism reduced the respect for tradition and facilitated a direct sympathetic approach to the favourite religious themes of this time. The Devī Mahātmya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa had played a very subordinate role in pre-Muslim Hindu iconography. On the other hand Krishna bhakti developed such a vogue of lyric literature simply calling for illustration, but unknown to tradition that the painters were forced to follow their



4

own inspiration. Already in the Jain Kālakāchārya Kathā the painters had ventured to depict the Śaka protectors and later converts of the Jains in contemporary Muslim costumes. Now they had to go much farther, had to fill with a new life the ossified types of Jain iconography, and to compose them into new scenes (e. g. Balagopālastuti, etc.). After the creative initiative of the artists had thus been kindled again, the process of a free treatment of tradition, of simplification and transformation of the old types and invention of new ones went on and on, leading towards a new art which, however, was to unfold itself not in Gujarāt, but in Rājputānā. The civil wars of the late Ahmadābād sultanate and its conquest by the Mughals were not favourable to the peaceful cultivation of art.

The Old Bengali School : Parallel with this religious and artistic revival in Western India went a similar movement in Bengal. As in the first countries Narendra Mehta and Mīrā Bāi had been the protagonists of a fervent Krishna mysticism, Chaitanya became the prophet of Krishna bhakti in the east. And also here the religious revival inspired, under Muslim toleration, a new art. As the Mediaeval "Eastern School" flourishing under the Pālas, Senas and Varmas had disappeared, its starting point was the art of the neighbouring province of Orissā, which had never been permanently subjected by the Muhammedans. Orissā had, like Gujarāt and the South already developed a popular reinterpretation of ancient Indian painting, though this folk-style had been strongly influenced from the South, especially Vijayanagar. This Bengal style developed on lines parallel to Rājput art, probably even influenced by the latter via Mathurā. But like early Rājput painting, it degenerated with the ebbing down of the mystic movement and lingered on as a rural folk art. There were no such influential Hindu courts as in Rājputānā which regained their independence in the decline of Mughal power. However, a last renaissance was to ensue also in Bengal, though on a very modest scale : The Paṭas of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Early Rajasthani Schools : When Gujarātī painting broke through the traditions of Jain iconography, the Rājput kingdoms emerging since the 14th century had acquired sufficient strength for an artistic life of

their own. Even in the 15th century their native art had not yet progressed beyond a very primitive folk art level. However, as in the 8th—12th centuries they had adopted and developed post-Gupta art, they now accepted the surviving Mediaeval Gujarātī tradition and later also contemporary Mālwa art. When and where a genuine Rājput style first evolved is not yet ascertained. There are reasons to assume that this happened at Chitorgarh somewhere in the time between Rānā Kūmbha and Rānā Sanga, the age of Mīrā Bāi and so many other passionate mystic singers. But it spread first in the early 16th century and reached its zenith in Akbar's later reign.

The Hindu-Gujarātī style of the early 16th century was now freely developed in the spirit of contemporary Rājput folk art (especially the Pāliyā reliefs). The composition of the individual figures as well as of the enclosing scenery follows the same principles as those found in the early Egyptian wall relievos or on the black-figured archaic Greek vases. What endows this new style with a special charm, however, is the passionate feeling penetrating faces, poses, the symbolic by-work and the glowing colour scheme. A later centre of this first type (with predominantly dark red background), so far known only in a few Rāgmālā sets, was Orchhā under rājā Madhukar Shāh.

Another type (with predominantly yellow background), under considerably stronger Gujarātī influence, seems to have flourished at Jodhpur under rāo Māldev and at Sirohi under Sūrthān Singh, a third group (likewise with yellow background, but slimmer and larger figures) may tentatively be assigned to Amber under Bhagwāndās, a fourth group, later absorbed into Akbar's kārkhāna, must be postulated for the court of Mān Singh Tomār of Gwālior, whereas at Bīkāner and Jaisalmer were executed merely very primitive outline illustrations of considerable linear verve. Towards the end of the century new influences resulted from the absorption of refugee artists from Gujarāt, Mālwa and Ahmadnagar Vijayanagar influence, via Ahmadnagar, seems to be responsible for the female type characteristic of the early Amber school. Muslim, as well as Jain-Gujarātī and Mālwa style elements can be traced in Mārwār between ca. 1560-90. Bīkāner under Rāi Singh who collected many illustrated MSS. during his stay in Gujarāt

and at Burhānpur, and probably also Būndi started at that time local schools of their own.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the Rāgmāla and the Rasikpriyā of Keśava-dās Sanādhya Miśra are the favourite subjects of these paintings, occasionally also Sūrdās, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Devī-Mahātmya, and portraits. The style varies from crystal-clear composition, of "Egyptian" construction, sweet outline and exquisite colour balance to muddled composition, careless drawing and harsh colour dissonances.

The Early Mughal School : The Mug͟hal princes had been lovers of painting already before they had established their empire in India. Bābur had been interested in the creations of Herāt under Husain Baiqarā ; Humāyūn employed painters from Turkistān, but during his exile in Persia engaged two prominent masters of the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, Mīr Sayyid Alī and Khwāja Abdas-Samad. Akbar's policy of Indianization as well as the increased demand for artisans needed for the execution of his many art schemes resulted in the employment of many indigenous artists, Muslims and Hindus, from Kashmīr, Gwālior, Gujarāt, but especially from Amber. Though these Indians were trained in the official Persian court style, they could not completely abandon their traditional training. Moreover, Akbar's own ideas on art underwent a complete change. Of manysided interests and above the prejudices of his time, he appreciated not the special Safavī mannerism of his Persian master artists, but the finish, elegance and naturalistic details of their work. A keen observer and lover of nature, he encouraged his artists to study nature above all, and it was from this point of view that the Flemish and Italian prints brought by the Jesuit missionaries from Goa interested him, so far as they did not attract his theological curiosity. Thus whereas the earliest Mug͟hal style was purely Tūrānī-Persian, though with an increasing admixture of Indian details, its second phase revealed many clumsy Indian imitations by the side of the first type, until both were more and more fused in a new naturalism ; though it is true that this naturalism was limited to the details of the pictures, their general composition, nay even the build-up of the figures being laid down by the traditional conventions of Persian and early Rājput art.

The Imperial Mughal Style of Painting : Of great indirect importance

for the formation of the classic Mughal style was the revolution in Persian painting early in the 17th century. The style of Rizā 'Abbāsī which became the fashion under Shāh 'Abbās the Great, was inspired by the drawings on the blue-and-white china ware of the Mings and early Manchus then imported in large quantities from China. Its Far Eastern flow of line and sophisticated elegance could fit well into the Persian tradition such as it had grown since the Mongol invasions, but not into the Indian, and whatever direct impression it left was the identification of black-and white drawings, occasionally heightened by some indications of colour, with the "Īrānī Qalam". But the Rizā 'Abbāsī fashion met, in pictorial art, the new taste in architecture for white marble inlaid with costly stones, and of delicate white muslin costumes embroidered with gold, silver and small flowers, ushered in by the empress Nūr Jahān. Thus it discredited the earlier colourful Safavī influences which had dominated the court studios under Akbar and in the early reign of Jahāngīr so that Rājput composition and figure build-up now could become the foundation of all Mughal pictorial art. What remained of the earlier Persian tradition, was the minute care in drawing and ornamenting every smallest detail of the miniatures. Finally it facilitated European influence, as in those times of difficult overseas communications contemporary European art became known chiefly through the medium of prints which were executed in great quantities, especially at Antwerp, for missionary propaganda.

Thus the classical Mughal style developed, on a Rājput substructure, with delicate and very careful decoration, and a certain tendency towards naturalism, pronounced in all details, tentative and mannered in the treatment of shadow and night effects, occasionally also in composition, where it was merely clumsily copied from European prints. Under Jahāngīr the chief accent was still laid on the careful, detailed observation of nature favoured by Akbar. To this interest of the emperor we owe those excellent portraits and other studies from nature, mammals, birds, fishes, insects, flowers which form such a famous aspect of Mughal art. But most of the output of the imperial studios under Akbar and in Jahāngīr's early reign had been illustrations of historical, romantic and didactic books. This book illustration now



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went somewhat out of fashion ; but it was replaced by representations of court life, official as well as intimate, collected in beautifully adorned albums. From Shāhjahān to Farrukhsiyar portraits of the rulers and grandees, durbār, battle, hunting and religious scenes, and finally zenāna pictures, all solemn and etiquette-bound, dominated Mughal art. Thus the naturalistic tendencies were again forgotten, in favour of another, very decorative mannerism.

Painting in the Deccani Sultanates : In the Deccanī sultanates there existed no Hindu influence comparable to that of Rājput art. The artificial galvanization of Mediaeval Hindu painting as practised in the South could neither appeal to the Muslims nor adapt itself to changing demands. The folk style which had developed in the late Vijayanagar Empire, was introduced after the disaster of Talikota by refugees in Bījāpur under 'Alī I and Ibrāhīm II, in Ahmadnagar under Husain Shāh I and especially queen Khūnza Sultān, regent for Murtazā I, and probably also in Golconda (to conclude from paintings of the early 18th century perpetuating that tradition). Mixing with the existing local Turco-Persian court style it created a very charming, but short-lived hybrid art (several Rāgmālās, Nujjūm-ul-Ulūm, Tarif-i Husain Shāhī) which disappeared again, at least from the courts, after two decades. But part of those Hindu artists seem later on to have found a refuge at the rising Rājput courts, for their influence is felt in varying degrees in early paintings at Amber, Bīkāner and Mārwār. More lasting probably was the indirect influence of the Vijayanagar jewellers and brass workers both on Deccanī architecture and painting since the end of the 16th century.

Under Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II the Akbarī Mughal school got a hold on the Bījāpur court, by the side of Safavī-Persian painting. Later the Rizā 'Abbāsī style came into fashion, European artists worked in a clumsy imitation of Titian and Veronese, and the longer the more the imperial Mughal style made its impression on the art of a divided kingdom. In early Golconda paintings which we know only through their echo in the Masulipatam "pintadoes", Rājput and early Mughal features appear superficially mixed with Persian and Deccanī Hindu elements. Then the Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān taste must have fixed

the style of the later Golconda school. But all Deccanī schools differ from Mughal painting by a rather flat conception, pronounced sweeping outlines, strongly contrasted colour surfaces and a romanticism reminding one of Rājput art.

Rajasthani Painting under Mughal Influence : As the leading Rājput princes spent almost more time at the Mughal court or on the frontiers of the empire than at home, Mughal court and provincial art could not fail to impress them strongly ; as the principal theatre of war in the 17th century was the Deccan, the provincial style influencing them most was that of the rich, but quickly disintegrating sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bījāpur and Golconda. Practically all rājās brought home collections of Mughal and Deccanī arms, jewellery, miniatures and manuscripts, South Indian idols, etc. They had their portraits painted by artists of the imperial court, and soon engaged also some of the less prosperous Mughal or Deccanī artists themselves. Already Jai Singh I Mirzā Rājā had aroused the wrath of the aging emperor Jahāngīr by imitating the new imperial marble architecture in his palace at Amber. Mughal architecture conquered Rājputānā first in the last quarter of the 17th century when Aurangzeb's puritanism, long absence in the Deccan and financial difficulties left most artists at the imperial capitals without or with insufficient employment.

But the Mughal pictorial style began to infiltrate at varying degrees already from the third decade of the same century This infiltration was effected in two opposite manners. Mughal painters in the service of the Rājput princes had to adapt themselves to the taste of their new masters developing more sweeping outlines, flatter surfaces, simpler colour harmonies. The Deccanī masters introduced their predilection for excessive gilding, besides minor details of their own tradition. The Rājput painters, on the other hand, while retaining their tradition in depicting the favourite Hindu religious and literary subjects, were forced to introduce all the delicate and refined ornamentation of Mughal art.

The most important centres where this mixed style developed, were Orchhā under Bīr Singh Deo, Amber under Jai Singh I, Jodhpur under Gaj Singh, Bundī under Chhattarsāl, Bīkāner under Karan and Anūp Singh. In the last years of Aurangzeb this assimilation had gone so far

as to leave only little difference between Mughal and Rājasthānī painting. And even this disappeared when the subsequent disintegration of the Mughal empire and the parallel impoverishment of its capitals forced most artists to find an employment at the rājā courts. This movement reached its maximum between 1731 and 1754 when Marāthas, Persians and Afghāns overran and plundered the unhappy empire. Jaipur gave refuge to the artists of Delhi and Lahore, the Pahārī states to those of the Panjāb. But when the splendour of Delhi had disappeared, the Mughal influence ceased and was absorbed and transformed into later Rājput art.

The "Basohli" School : The victory of the Mughal style in Rājputānā resulted in the eviction from court service of all painters adhering to the early Rājasthānī style. They were forced to return to the bazar or to work for some minor princes or feudal lords. Thus the early Rājasthānī school has survived, only slightly modified, in a number of not yet identified places into the early 19th century ; but most of these remnants were likewise absorbed or disappeared in the course of the 18th century. Only one acquired importance because of its isolation in the Panjāb Himālaya, the so-called "Basohlī" School.

Like their mightier compatriots in Rājputānā, also the rājās of the Himālaya had joined the Mughal service. However, most of them were too small or backward to play any role. The rājās of Kāngrā, once the overlords of the other hill states, were reduced after several revolts to petty zamīndars. The Pathāniās of Nūrpur rose high in the favour of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, only to be broken after their rebellion and the siege of Tārāgarh by Shāhjahān in 1642. Only the rājās of Basohlī (Balor) remained loyal to the Mughals and, thus, reaped the fruits which Nūrpur had sown.

Nūrpur and Basohlī had engaged masons, painters and other artisans from Rājputānā, probably from Amber and Bīkāner. When Basohlī was temporarily overshadowed by Nūrpur, and when afterwards Nūrpur was punished, part of the artists there emigrated to Jammū, Chambā, Mandī and Kulū. This earlier Pahārī school fell under the influence of the local wood sculpture which had survived the collapse of Mediaeval court art and which had evolved a rather exaggerated, but charming and expressive manner of its own when, towards the end of the 17th century

Mughal control and the contact with Rājputānā came to an end. By the middle of the 18th century it was superseded first by Mughal influence and then by the "Kāngrā" style. In Basohlī it was fused with new Mughal elements under rājā Amritpāl (3rd quarter 18th century). After 1775 Kāngrā art conquered also Basohlī, but the "Basohlī" manner was continued in the small states of its neighbourhood up to Sikh times.

The Late Mughal Style : Since the end of the 17th century Mughal art underwent a subtle change. The repression exercised by the stern puritan emperor, the quick succession of short reigns and of dictatorial governments, the breakdown of a well-ordered administration, the defection of vassals and governors, and foreign invasions created a sense of frustration and insecurity and, with it, a desire to escape from reality. Amidst a growing chaos, the fashionable Mughal court was preoccupied with erotic pleasures, Persian and Urdū poetry, music, dance and refined luxuries. With singers and dancing girls in the centre of social interest and even as official imperial favourites, Urdū poetry and Hindu music in fashion, and the boundaries between art at the imperial and the Rājput courts completely obliterated, Hindu mentality and Hindu subjects were bound to invade late Mughal painting. It assumed the summary treatment, the sweeping linear flow, the sentimental romanticism of contemporary Rājput art, imported yogī and yoginī, Rāgmālā, Nāyikā and even Rādhā-Krishna scenes, but in a spirit of romantic sentimentality and a weary "night" mysticism, more in harmony with Richard Wagner's "Tristan" than with the enthusiastic raptures of Mīrā Bāi, Chandīdās or Chaitanya.

After the deposition of Ahmad Shāh, however, the cultivation of art became impossible in an insecure impoverished and decaying "capital" of a few districts, and most of the painters emigrated to Faizābād and other residences of now independent nawābs. In the early 19th century the Delhi school of painting could be revived again. Under the protection of British sepoys and with the funds of a British pension the last two Mughal emperors could think of restoring at least a shadow of the splendour of their ancestors. And painting was obviously the least expensive of all arts. Thus a considerable activity was started, but it was merely of an imitative character, so careful, that many of its creations

have been accepted by less trained connoisseurs as genuine works of the 17th and early 18th centuries, though proportions, poise, expression, composition everywhere reveal the lack of sufficient firsthand observation. Nor could the artists avoid the intrusion of contemporary Afghān and European fashions in life as well as in art. To the latter belonged the oval portrait miniatures on ivory which after the Mutiny were to be, in the bazars, the chief survivors of this last Mughal renaissance.

However, in the same way in which Mughal art had captured the Rājput courts, it became established also at the residence of the Muslim governors when these latter became practically independent and hereditary nawābs. The earliest of these provincial centres was Hyderābād where the Mughal style, under the influence of the previous Deccanī schools, developed a magnificent rhythm and vivacity in the reign of the great Āsaf-Jāh, but quickly degenerated already under Nizām 'Alī. The Bengal school at Murshidābād and Patna cultivated a certain refined languor ; but after the establishment of British rule the artists had to make a living chiefly by working for European officials, and thus fell under the successive influence of Classicist, Romantic and even Preraphaelite British art until they were absorbed into the modern Bengal school. The Oudh school (Faizābād and Lucknow) continued the Delhi school of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh's reigns. It was correct and careful, but of a rather academic coldness, often working older models into its pictures. Since Sa'ādat 'Alī Shāh it began to be transformed under European influence, and part of the artists seem to have transferred their activities to Jaipur. Smaller centres have existed at Benares, Rāmpur, Kashmīr (under Afghān influence), Mertā, Surat, Bhopāl, Mysore, etc., and itinerant Mughal artists have until the 19th century frequented the various Rājput courts. To attempt a characterization of all these ephemerous style groups is impossible in the present context.

The Late Rajput Schools in Rajputana and Bundelkhand : When Delhi became a mere ghost of its former splendour, the Rājput style began to re-emerge from the inundation of Mughal art. The rājās, now independent, were no more impressed by an impoverished and helpless court, the tool of whoever wanted and could misuse for his own ambitions the last shreds of past authority. The emigration of artists had also

come to an end about 1754. Though the Mughal technique was not abandoned, its aesthetic interpretation relapsed more and more into the old Rājput course, though with a decisive difference. The Rājput courts had now likewise become infected by the general decadence of India, corrupt and voluptuous, like the Delhi of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh. And the old mystic-romantic themes of art and poetry had sunk down to a pretext and masquerade for zenāna pleasures. Gods and goddesses are no more symbols of cosmic forces, not even their incarnations, they are dressed-up dancing girls and pleasure-boys. The zenith of this very fashionable, very mannered and artificial but also in its own way perfect art was reached between 1820 and 1840 when the British subsidiary alliances secured the leisure and necessary funds for a luxury life not yet affected by modern influences. In a decadent form, however, this art continued its life into the seventies and eighties of the last century, and in some states is lingering on even to-day.

The history of the individual schools is so far little explored. Under Sawāi Jai Singh the 'Ālamgīrī-Mughal style dominated Jaipur painting completely. Under Sawāi Isrī Singh the first indications of returning Rājput ideals became visible, but in the early reign of Sawāi Mādho Singh there followed an irresistible irruption of the "Baroque" late Mughal taste which gave the late Jaipur style its distinctive note. Under the licentious Sawāi Pratāp Singh, Jagat Singh II and Jai Singh III the Jaipur style reached its very fashionable, but somewhat cold and pompous perfection. Many miniatures of this time are of exceptional size, apparently influenced by the measurements of contemporary British engravings. Famous are the life-size Rādhā-Krishna cartoons (royal portraits of the same type are in the Pothī-Khāna), a re-transposition of wall paintings and embroidered kanāts into the "miniature" technique. Towards the middle of the 19th century Jaipur painting became commercialized, many artists had already emigrated to other parts of India, the style grew crude and expressionless, and the subjects were not seldom of a repulsive coarseness.

Earlier Jodhpur painting had almost completely disappeared in consequence of Aurangzeb's occupation of the town and fort. Ajīt and Abhai Singh revived it with the help of Mughal artists from Delhi and

Ahmadābād. First under Bakht Singh the Rājput note broke through, to become more emphasized under Bijai Singh. At last under Mān Singh the high style of the Jodhpur School was complete, less finished than the Jaipur style, and with a somewhat shrill colour scheme in which orange, yellow and dark green dominated, but of an overwhelming linear verve, with unnaturally exaggerated leaf-shaped eyes with drawn-up corners, full chins, heavy breasts protruding from exaggerated chests, wide costumes standing off like old Spanish farthingales. Here also some paintings are large, some even life-size, destined as wall hangings for Vallabhāchārya temples. Under Takhat Singh a mass production set in, of careless execution, but its linear verve is driven to the very extreme of rhythmic vitality. Under Mān Singh religious subjects had predominated, Śaiva, Śākta, Nāth (Kānphata) and Krishna-bhākta ; under his successor the never-ending dancing girl amusements of the zenāna occupied the entire sphere of interest.

Closely related to the later Jodhpur school is the Kishangarh school which, however, had preserved into the late 18th and even early 19th century characteristics of the early Rājasthānī style by the side of a certain provincialism. The late work which comprises also large-size hangings is distinguished from the Jodhpur style by a lankness apparently inspired by the body constitution of rājā Kalyān Singh. (Some characteristics of the Kishangarh school can be traced also in miniatures from Bīkāner).

The Bīkāner School under Sujān Singh had reached the pure Mughal style which under Zorāwar Singh became somewhat sickly and neurasthenic. Gaj Singh revived it with the help of refugees from Delhi and Lahore who executed also wall paintings in the Fort Palace. But in his later years the Rājput tendencies came again to the foreground. The best and purest period of the late Rājput style was the reign of Sūrat Singh (end of the 18th and early 19th centuries) to which belong also the "cranes and clouds panels" published by A. K. Coomaraswamy. Since Ratan Singh the decay set in, though even to-day the tradition is still alive.

The Jaisalmer school had never been important, few paintings of the 18th century are known, those of the 19th excel by a wild, but undisciplined linear rhythm.

The Udaipur School in its earlier phases is still unexplored. The continuous wars with the Mughals had not been favourable, and the early revival under the rānās Amar Singh, Sangrām Singh II and Jagat Singh II showed little originality. Then the complete exhaustion of the state by the raids of the Marāthas and Pindārīs paralyzed most artistic activities so that painting began to flourish first under British protection, especially under Bhīm, Jawān and Sarūp Singh, however, with all the characteristics of the decadent style of that period.

Of the Hāraotī School only fragments survive. The pure Mughal style was probably introduced at Būndi by Budh Singh and changed into the later Rājput manner in the reign of Umed Singh. The pure late Rājput type was reached under Bishan Singh and degenerated under Rām Singh, whereas the main period of the same style at Kotāh falls into the reigns of Umed, Kishore and Rām Singh. The school was not very important, and in its later creations reveals similarity with the Jaisalmer style.

The early Bundela School which soon after Bīr Singh Deo's death had adopted the Mughal style, had not survived the rebellion of Jhujhār Singh against Shāhjahān. However, several Rāgmālā sets are known which, to conclude from the type of architecture depicted, seem to come from Bundelkhand, ca. A. D. 1740-60; they reveal Rājput style tendencies surprisingly strong for that date which may have been due to the weakness of Mughal influence in consequence of the long guerrilla war. But during the hightide of Marātha oppression this charming school withered away and was late in the century superseded by late Mughal imports. They dominate even in the ceiling frescoes of the late Lakshmī-Nārāyan Temple of Orchhā. The miniatures published by N. C. Mehta, though revealing a very individual note, are characteristic of the late reign of Shatrujīt Singh (1762-1801), but not of the average style of the late Dātiā school.

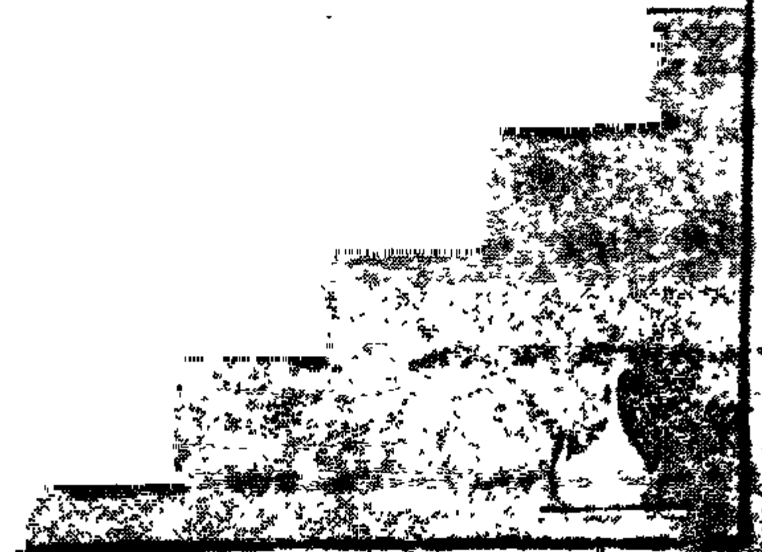
The Maratha School : During their victorious campaigns all over India under Bājī Rāo I and Bālājī Bājī Rāo the Marāthas began to appreciate and imitate the arts and luxuries of the other Indian courts for which purpose they employed, in a very eclectic manner, Mughal, Rājput, Gujarātī and South Indian artists. The portraits of early

नैतिकोवुलहउनी वेटीवृषभानजुकीजौबेकुंजसोदारानीआबिदेसंगारकैः॥जा
नुकेजवनबिलोकीबिकुपानघातीउपरअकेलीगइआनदविचारकैः॥देषतदेषतह
रिजावतेकैनागुंदेषीदारीगहिव्यालुअसीविनीडंसकारीकैः॥चेटीनरिअकमनजा
योकरिछानैनोमुहकेसरसौमान्यौमुहवेसरसवारकैः॥







Marātha rulers and leaders reveal not much quality or individual style. However, in the late 18th century also a distinctive Marātha school of painting developed, a degenerated. and rather boorish variety of the late Rājput style. Of greater interest are the Marātha underglass paintings which came into fashion under Sawāi Mādho Rāo and Bājī Rāo II. They represent a Chinese import, and in successive examples the transition from Chinese to Rājput, Marātha and at last European types can easily be followed.

The Kangra School : Already the invasion of Nādir Shāh, 1737-38, had induced some Mughal artists to flee from the Panjāb to the Beās Valley. They found a refuge with Govardhan Chand of Gūler, the small, but senior Katoch state south-west of Kāngrā, and founded the Gūler school of painting. But when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī devastated the Panjāb in campaign after campaign, Mughal civilization there came to an end. The painters working for the nawāb's court at Lahore emigrated to Bīkāner and other Rājput states, but the minor masters had to be content with finding jobs in the Himālayan Rājput states. Thus after 1750 small Mughal schools turned up in Pūnch, Rāmnagar, Basohlī, Chambā, "Kāngrā", Mandī and even Garhwāl. The style of most of these is very provincial, only Pūnch and "Kāngrā" reveal a decent standard. Within a decade or two all of them again disappeared, superseded or assimilated into the new Pahārī-Rājput style of "Kāngrā".

Kāngrā then was still a Mughal Fort, but the Katoch rājās who then resided at Ālampur, Tira-Sujānpur and Nadāun became the leading power of the Beās Valley already before they recaptured the capital of their ancestors. Under Ghamand Chand (1751-75) the style of the immigrated Mughal painters was transformed into the thoroughly Rājput, early Kāngrā style which, though rather crude and timid in line, colour, movement and expression, already foreboded all the characteristics of its classical phase under Sansār Chand II. between 1775 and 1806. The high Kāngrā school, melodious, bright, romantic, in many ways comparable to the Sienese Trecentists of Italy, is one of the finest expressions of Indian art. It lacks grandeur and tragedy, but it evokes the raptures of a dreamland of love, not genuinely mystic, but neither sensuous : pure and healthy where all nature sings with the happy heart.

Already in the eighties the Kāngrā style expanded over all the surrounding states, and when the Gurkhā war dispersed most of Sansār Chand's artists, many local schools arose, from Basohlī to Garhwāl. Most famous of these later artists has become Molā-Rām (1750-1833), the great master of Garhwāl who started in the "Basohlī" manner (1769 ff.), experimented in the Mughal technique (1771 ff.) and finally brought to perfection the Kāngrā style of the beginning 19th century.

The Gurkhā war (1806-13) had broken the power of the hill Rājputs, and the Sikh conquest following on it broke this art. State after state was annexed, and those still surviving lived, impoverished and exhausted, in daily fear of extinction and, what seemed worse, of being dishonoured by the plebeian Sikhs. "Kāngrā" art did not die, but it grew old. Its happy, gallant and romantic spirit was broken, it became formal, solemn and over-ornamental, like a heavy dream sought in drugs in order to forget the nightmare of life.

Sikh Painting : In this late form "Kāngrā" painting was taken over by the Sikhs, at that time rather vulgar upstarts, boisterous, realistic, puritan. There was no room for Rājput romanticism and mystic symbolism. Like the early Mughals they appreciated a realistic portrait, enjoyed a foul zenāna jest, or could use a few religious pictures where Hindu mythology had intruded into the Sikh cult. Later they began to appreciate the whole range of Kāngrā themes, like the Hindus living under that rule. But then the Sikh kingdom was already disintegrating and Indian painting everywhere declining fast.

The End : Through the whole second half of the 19th century traditional Indian painting was dying a lingering death. With every railway, canal or trunk road foreign goods came in, not yet in large quantities, but just the type of luxury articles likely to alter the tastes of rulers, nobles and rich merchants, of all those who had been the employers, and customers of the native artists. Even where new artistic predilections were not awakened, the former sureness of taste and connoisseurship disappeared ; demands for new techniques, for perspective and strict nature imitation, for light and shadow, for exotic "Western" accessories and other inessential superficialities came up. But they did not offer any substitute for the perfect line, rhythm, colour harmony, strength of

expression and suggestion of some higher reality behind the visible things of this world. And these are the essence of all art, and had been the essence also of Indian art through the centuries whatever technical shortcomings and conventions those styles of a Mediaeval society may have had. Thus painting was relegated to the bazar, however without becoming a real folk art; it is now disappearing without hope for a revival, though it may help to inspire a new national art.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

1. Gandha Vyūha, Kulū, 11th century. Sv. Roerich collection.
2. Elopement. Rājputāna, end of 15th century (?). Disintegration of the "Jain"-Gujarātī style into Rājput folk art. Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares.
3. Devalis (Pāliyās), dated A. D. 1485, Kodāmdesar near Bīkāner.
4. Illustration of Rāginī. Ahmadnagar, ca. A. D. 1570. Lallgarh Palace, Bīkāner.
5. Illustration to the Rasikpriyā of Keśavadās Sanādhya Miśra of Orchhā. Chitorgarh or Orchhā, 3rd quarter of the 16th century. Bīkāner, Lallgarh Palace.
6. Childhood of Krishna. From a Bhāgavata Purāṇa Album, Tularam Collection, Delhi. Mārwār, ca A. D. 1580-1590, mainly 15th century Ahmadābād style, partly adapted to the Rājasthānī taste.
7. Illustration to the Rasikpriyā of Keśavadās Sanādhya Miśra of Orchhā. Amber, ca. A. D. 1580-1590. Lallgarh Palace, Bīkāner.

GANDHIJI ON ART

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Many people carry the impression that Gandhiji had no sense of art or of beauty in him ; that his life was so rigidly drilled and spartan in character that there was no room left for any of the softer graces of life. Among those who formerly shared such a view, the artist Nandalal Bose was one. But there was an occasion when Nanda Babu had an opportunity of completely revising his opinion in this respect.

It was during one of the Congress sessions that Nandalal Bose had been invited by Gandhiji himself to undertake the task of decoration with such materials and genius as was available in the surrounding villages. An exhibition in which village arts and crafts were displayed, had just been opened and Gandhiji came to visit the stalls. When he entered the exhibition, Nanda Babu was there to receive him. Everything had not yet been completely arranged, and a few retouches yet remained to be made here and there. As Gandhiji entered the room, the first remark that he made, put the artist and his co-workers there almost to shame. Beneath one of the tables on which the exhibits had been arranged, there was a tin bucket which had been hurriedly shoved into a corner before the distinguished guest arrived. Gandhiji noticed the thing and remarked that it fitted very badly with the atmosphere of the place. It was, of course, immediately removed.

Nanda Babu accompanied Gandhiji as he moved from one table to another examining the exhibits carefully. It was indeed surprising to find him take such a keen interest at each of the objects, as well as about the men who had been responsible for their manufacture. But, within a few minutes time, Nanda Babu noticed that Gandhiji had become absent-minded and stood gazing at the earthen floor of the exhibition hall.

The hall had a thatch of leaves, which shut out the sky rather imperfectly. It was a bright, sunny day ; and the beams of sunlight which had made their way through the leaves succeeded in creating a playful pattern upon the dull grey of the earthen floor. Gandhiji stood gazing at this, and then broke the silence with the remark, "Nandalal, you cannot make anything approaching this, can you ?"

It was then that Nanda Babu realized in a flash how deep a sense of the beautiful Gandhiji carried in his bosom. It might have needed no outward form or symbol for its satisfaction, but it was there all the same. Perhaps its primary function was to transform Gandhiji's own life and character until it shone like a poem of great beauty and of epic grandeur.

It was only on very rare occasions that Gandhiji was ever called upon to express his views on art. But there did come such occasions, when he said all that was significant in his own judgement about this aspect of life. We can do no better than share with the reader a number of such passages as they will throw an unexpected light on this aspect of his thoughts.

There are two aspects of things—the outward and the inward. It is purely a matter of emphasis with me. The outward has no meaning except in so far as it helps the inward. All true art is thus the expression of the soul. The outward forms have value only in so far as they are the expression of the inner spirit in man. Art of that nature has the greatest appeal for me. But I know that many call themselves artists, and are recognised as such, and yet in their works there is absolutely no trace of the soul's upward urge and unrest.

All true art must help the soul to realize its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul's realization. My room may have blank walls ; and I may even dispense with the roof, so that I may gaze out upon the starry heavens overhead that stretch in an unending expanse of beauty. What conscious art of man can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars ? This, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the value of productions of art, generally accepted as such but only that I personally feel how inadequate these are compared with the eternal symbols of

beauty in Nature. These productions of man's art have their value only so far as they help the soul onward towards self-realization.

All truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs, are highly beautiful. People generally fail to see beauty in truth, the ordinary man runs away from it and becomes blind to the beauty in it. Whenever men begin to see beauty in truth, then true art will arise.

Truly beautiful creations come when right perception is at work. If these moments are rare in life they are also rare in art.—*Young India*, 13.11.24, p. 377.

True art takes note not only of form but also of what lies behind. There is an art that kills and an art that gives life. True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.—*Young India*, 11.8.21, p. 253.

We have somehow accustomed ourselves to the belief that art is independent of the purity of private life. I can say with all the experience at my command that nothing could be more untrue. As I am nearing the end of my earthly life I can say that purity of life is the highest and truest art. The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely.—*Harijan*, 19.2.38, p. 10.

KHARAVELA AS KING AND BUILDER

by B. M. BARUA

The name of Khāravela as the greatest monarch and ruler of Kaliṅga has been well-known since it was correctly read by Bhagawanlal Indraji and made out from the Hāthigumphā and Mañchapurī Cave Inscriptions. He does not stand alone as the donor of the caves on the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (Kumāri-Kumāra-parvatas) on the Khurdā Road, about two miles north-west from the Liṅgarāj Temple of Bhuvaneśwar in the district of Puri. There are other donors including his chief queen, king Kuḍepa, probably son and successor of Khāravela, prince Vaḍukha, the town-judge Bhūti, and others connected with Khāravela as his officers and personal attendants. The caves that do not bear any inscription may be treated as those donated by him. Two caves on the Khaṇḍagiri Hill containing the statues of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras appear to be later additions. The rest may be safely relegated to Khāravela's time. Altogether how many caves were excavated in Khāravela's time we cannot say. Those which are hitherto discovered and visible on the two hills are enough for our present purpose. On the summit of Khaṇḍagiri there is to be seen a square ground containing a few rows of small and low pillars of rude-hewn stone. These are apparently memorial stone-pillars and their number may be taken to indicate the number of distinguished Jaina saints who died while they were residing on the two hills and in their neighbourhood.

The "Ṇamakkāra" formula of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is typically Jaina. None of the four symbols—the Crown (Vardhamāna), the Svastika, the Taurus (Nandipada) and the Railed-in-tree (Chaitya)—is distinctively a Jaina emblem. The supreme objects of veneration are the Arahants and Siddhas meaning the Tīrthaṅkaras who were the great

pioneers and founders of the Jaina religious order and school of thought.[1] The recluses for whom the caves were made are described as those who professed their faith in the Arahants.[2] Khāravela is represented as a lay worshipper of the Ārhata saints who had completely exhausted the cause of gliding in the course of transmigration and fulfilled the ascetic vows.[3] They were high personages well-established in the principles of piety and conduct, honoured, wise,—the revered ascetics and sages.[4] Although the Ājīvikas too passed as Arahants or Ārhatas, and as cave-dwellers, they do not appear to have been in view of the inscriptions of Khāravela and his queen consort. The earlier inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha go rather to prove that if the Ājīvikas were meant, they were distinctly mentioned as such. The occurrence of the word Nigaṃtha (Nirgrantha) would have decided once for all the case in favour of the Jaina recluses. In its absence the question is to be kept open until something decisive is forthcoming. If we decide the matter in favour of the Jainas, we have yet to answer the question concerning their sect. The Hāthigumphā Inscription seems to represent them as the Saṃghiyas[5] who were "yāpujāvakas" ('yāpa-udyāpakas')[6] during the rainy season. If these really mean a clue to their identity, it is possible to connect them with the adherents of a Yāpana-saṃgha.[7]

The purpose of the caves was the same as that of the 'kubhās' in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill-caves dedicated by Aśoka and Daśaratha to the Ajīvikas, and it was to provide shelters for the saintly recluses who needed them during the rains ('vāsāsitāni varshāśritānam'). In the inscriptions other than the Hāthigumphā the caves are denoted

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1. 'Bhagavati Sūtra' or 'Viyāha-paṇṇatti', I. 1. 1.
2. Mañchapuri Cave Inscription of Khāravela's Chief Queen : 'Arahaṃta-pasādānaṃ Kaliṁgānaṃ samanānaṃ lenaṃ kāritaṃ'. Wrongly read 'Arahaṃta-pasādāya', by R. D Banerji.
3. Hāthigumphā Inscription, line 14 : 'arahate [hi] pakkhina-saṃsitehi...chinavatini
4. Ibid , line 15 : 'sakata-samana-suvihitānam'... 'ñaninaṃ tapasi-isina[ṃ]'.
5. Ibid., line 15 : 'saṃghiyanam'.
6. Ibid., line 14 : 'yāpuj [ā] vakehi'.
7. The Yāpana or Yāpanīya Saṃgha is known as a Jaina sect whose distinctive characteristics connect them with the Śvetāmbaras rather than with the Digambaras. The inscription contains certain phraseologies, 'kalānāni' and the like, that are definitely Jaina.

by the word 'lena' (Sk. 'layana') and the fully equipped ones are said to have consisted of a 'pāsāda' (facade in the shape of an open-pillared verandah), 'koṭhā' (inner chamber or chambers in the shape of cubic cells), and 'jeyyā' (pent-roof in the shape of a fixed shelf).[1] In the Hāthigumphā Inscription itself they are called 'nisīdiyā' (line 15) and 'jīvadeha-s(ā)yikā' (shelters for embodied souls).[2] They were expressly intended to serve as places for comfortable bodily rest.[3] It is clearly stated that the caves were excavated for the accommodation of the Saṃghiya (Saṃghika) recluses, ascetics and sages hailing from a hundred (i. e. all) quarters.[4] This laudable work was done in the thirteenth regnal year of Khāravela.

In the fourteenth year and as his last memorable work, Khāravela caused to be built at the cost of 75,00,000 a magnificent religious edifice which was provided with a beryl chamber (hall) with its quadrangular floor and painted ceiling[5] and its walls partitioned by the best of artistic skill into sixty-four panels containing the peaceful scenes of music.[6] And for this purpose stones had to be quarried out of select quarries and collected from a vast and extensive area ('varākara-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojana-āhitāhi silāhi'). The edifice was erected on a slope—in the vicinity of the caves on the Kumārī Hill (Udayagiri) serving as retreat for the Arahants or Ārhatas ('Arahata-nisīdiyā-samīpe pabhāre').

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1. Barua, 'Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri, and Khandagiri Caves', Calcutta University, pp. 63 ff., revised edition in I. H. Q. XIV, pp. 261ff. R. D. Banerji makes out the word as 'ajeyyā' in the sense of "impregnable" (E. I., Vol. XIII, pp 169 ff.)

2. Sāyika=Sk. 'śrāyyaḥ' meaning shelters. Here we are not to suppose that the caves were meant as sepulchres or resting places for dead bodies, an interpretation of 'Jīvadeha sāyikā' which is prevented by the fact that the caves were to accommodate the recluses needing shelter during the rainy season.

3. The reading is either 'Kayya' ('kalya')-nisīdiyāya or kāya-nisīdiyāya.

4. Hāthigumphā Inscription, line 15 : 'sakata-samana-suvihitānaṃ chasata-(sava) disānaṃ-saṃghiyānaṃ Arahata-nisīdiyā'.

5. Ibid., line 16 : 'paṭālake chatare cha veḍuriya-gabhe 'thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati'. This may be taken also to mean that there was a roofed quadrangle with its painted ceiling and colonnade of pillars apart from the beryl chamber.

6. Ibid., line 16 : 'mukhiya-kala-vochhine cha choyaṭhi aṃge saṃtikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati.

Evidently then the last mentioned work achieved by Khāravela in the world of religious architecture at an enormous cost stood apart from the rock-cut residential caves. To accomplish it choicest stones had to be procured as materials and the best available skill of art to be employed. The pithy description in his inscription places before us a clear idea of its costliness and a vivid picture of its magnitude and grandeur. The beryl hall with its colonnades of pillars was spacious enough to allow its walls to be bedecked with sixty-four panels, each presenting a piece of sculpture. As for its cost, 75,00,000, we can easily ascertain what was really meant. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has conclusively shown that "in early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of 'kārshāpaṇa' being understood as is quite clear by its occasional mention. 'Kārshāpaṇa' was, therefore, looked upon as the standard coin."[1] Dr. V. S. Agrawala, too, has successfully established the same fact while commenting on Pāṇini's Sūtras, IV. 5. 135, V. 1. 27, V. 1. 29 and the 'Mahābhārata' expressions : 'ayaṃ sahasra-saṃmito vaiyāghraḥ' (Sabhā, 54. 4) and 'śatena nishka-gaṇitaṃ sahasreṇa ca saṃmitam' (Anuśāsana, 93. 437).[2] Thus the cost of the great erection amounted to 75,00,000 'Kārshāpaṇas' or punch-marked silver coins.

Unfortunately a portion of the description of the great edifice cannot be made out from the existing inscription[3] and a portion is missing for good. Even from what now remains of it, it cannot be doubted that the memorable erection was a shrine or temple without any image installed in it. I went through the manuscript of a 'Purāṇa' in the possession of a local Pāṇḍā of Bhuvaneśwar in which the present Liṅgarāj Temple of the place is claimed to have been erected by Khāravela. I could not place any reliance on it as it seemed to me to be a modern composition. The manuscript is purchased for the Mayurbhanj State Library. One striking fact about the Liṅgarāj Temple is the absence

1. 'Ancient Indian Numismatics', Cal. University, p. 79.
2. 'Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute', Vol. XXI, pp. 287 f.
3. Probably the intended name for the edifice is 'chetiya'.

of any image or phallic symbol in its 'garbhagṛiha' or sanctum sanctorum. Be that as it may, it is undeniable that the edifice raised by Khāravela stood as the prototype and precursor of the present temples of Bhuvaneśwar.

Among the larger caves on Udayagiri, four only, namely, the Mañchapurī, the Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā, the Jaya-Vijaya and the Rāṇigumphā, appear in the shape of buildings. Three of them (to the exclusion of the Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā) are two-storeyed. The Rāṇigumphā is the biggest of all the caves and the richest in its wealth of sculpture. The very first sculpture in this cave gives us a good idea of what was meant by the scenes of peaceful music artistically produced on the walls of the great temple. The Hāthigumphā description of the edifice is not applicable to the Rāṇigumphā for the simple reason that it is a rock-cut cave and not a construction of a large number of stones.

The names by which the caves are known are all modern. The inscriptions do not contain any such names. They are significant, nevertheless, inasmuch as they are intelligently devised to suggest what appear at first sight to be the distinctive features of the excavations to which they apply. The central cave on Udayagiri bearing Khāravela's inscription is called Hāthigumphā from its frontal appearance with its hanging brow suggesting a sitting elephant. Another cave is called Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā for having before it in the courtyard two seated figures of young elephants. The upper storey of the cave donated by Khāravela's chief queen is appropriately called Mañchapurī and the corresponding lower storey donated by king Kuḍepa Pātālapurī. A small cave bears the name of Vyāghragumphā for its frontal appearance is a tiger-face with its gaping mouth and distended jaws. The caves called Sarpagumphā, Ajāgaragumphā and Bhekagumphā have for their cognizances respectively a snake-hood, the figure of a boa constrictor, and the frontal face of a frog. The elephant, the tiger, the cobra, the boa constrictor and the frog are apparently the denizens of the hills on which the caves were excavated. The figures show that they were produced at ease and thus bear evidence to an advanced state of the stone-cutter's art in Orissa. The name of Mañchapurī (Heavenly Abode) is suggested not only

by the fact of its applying to the upper storey of the cave concerned but by a frieze containing a lively picture of a flying Vidyādhara on the wall of its verandah.

The Jaya-Vijaya[1] cave on the slope of Udayagiri and on the left side of the Rāṇigumphā derives its name from the standing figure of its two sentinels wearing high boots, each of them being therefore, the typical Sun-god. The name of Rāṇigumphā is devised for the other cave guarded by a similar sentinel since it appears at its first sight and from its architectural design, sculptural decoration, quadrangular courtyard and size to have been a residence for a queen. Similarly the name of Anantagumphā is applied to a small cave on Khaṇḍagiri on account of the fact that the outer side of its door bears the figure of two crawling serpents facing opposite directions. It might as well have been called the Sūryagumphā on account of its having for its distinctive feature a noteworthy sculptural representation of the Sun-god driven in a chariot drawn by seven horses. The modernity of the names is evident from the name, Durgāgumphā, devised for a cave on Khaṇḍagiri having at its entrance a figure of Durgā which is an addition of recent times.

The residential caves and the great shrine are the excavations and erection in which Khāravela and his wife and family were personally interested as lay worshippers of the Arahants and lay supporters of the Ārhata recluses. Consistent with his principle of religious toleration, Khāravela caused the 'devāyatanas' (Hwen Thsang's 'Deva temples') to be repaired. These abodes of the gods and demi-gods must have been popular places of worship other than the Jaina shrines (chaityas) ; they were 'Hindu temples' as we now call them. As may be ascertained from literary and monumental evidences, these old-world sanctuaries mostly consisted of the Yaksha and Nāga shrines. The pantheon must have included in it Śrī (Lakhi of the Hāthigumphā Inscription), and Śiva

1 Jaya and Vijaya are the legenday door-keepers of Vaikuṇṭhapurī or the paradisical city of Vishṇu.

and Vishṇu among others The very first work of importance done by Khāravela since his coronation as the great king of Kaliṅga and in the first year of his reign was the thorough repair of the capital city called Khibīra, and of all its residential and religious buildings, parks and gardens, including the banks of its famous Rishitāla Tank (Isitāla-taḍāga-pāḍiyo). The gate-houses and walls (gopura-pākāra) mentioned in this connection are to be associated as much with some of the residential buildings as with the temples in the city. The gate-houses and gate-towers containing the figurines of the goddess of Luck in their niches (Jaṭhara-lakhila-gopurāṇi siharāṇi) erected in the twelfth regnal year at the cost of a hundred visikās (measures or coins of gold and silver) are significant as proving the existence of what was later to become the South Indian style of temple architecture terminology, in the capital of Kaliṅga.

In addition to these works of piety, Khāravela caused to be built in his 9th regnal year a new royal palace by the name of "The Great Victory Palace" (Mahāvijaya-pāsāda) at the cost of 38,00,000 (Kārshāpaṇas), while the work of repair of the capital city cost him 35,00,000 (Kārshāpaṇas). Thus the cost of erection of the great shrine (75,00,000) was a little less than the double of that of the palace, a fact which eloquently speaks of the preponderance of religious architecture over secular and semi-secular (residential and sepulchral) in royal as well as popular estimation of the age. Evidently the new royal palace was built on the two banks of a stream called Prachī (Prāchī : 'ubhaya-Prachī-taṭe').[1] This palace had, like other royal palaces, the Vaijayanta Palace of Indra for its heavenly prototype, and its very name is suggestive of this fact.

If such be Khāravela's historical position as a builder, it may be worth while to reconsider his position as an Indian monarch and ruler. He is represented in his Hāthigumphā Inscription of 17 lines as well as in that of his chief queen as a paramount sovereign of Kaliṅga. To all

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1. See the plate, section I in 'Select Inscriptions' edited by D. C. Sircar, Vol. I, Cal. University, between pp. 208 and 209.

appearance, Kaliṅga of his time is the same country as that which was conquered and annexed by Aśoka in the latter half of the third century B. C. in about 251 B. C. Kaliṅga was known to Aśoka as a country which remained unconquered and independent before the 8th year of his reign (R. E. XIII). It is roughly co-extensive with the modern province of Orissa if we judge it by its extension along the sea-coast from the river Vaitaraṇī in the north-east to the Lāṅguliyā in the south-west. Its ancient traditional capital, known as Dantapura (Dantagula, Dantakura, Pālura), was situated in the south, near about Chicacole, while in Aśoka's time Tosali (Dhauli) became the headquarters of the northern or major division and Samāpā in the district of Ganjam that of the southern or minor division of the province. In Khāravela's time the capital of Kaliṅga was Khibīra (Kaliṅganagari-Khibīra ; line 3), a name having a verbal affinity with Khiching, Khijjinga of the Bhanja copper-plates in the state of Mayurbhanj. It cannot be located far in the south, even anywhere in the district of Ganjam. It had its connection with a river near it by a canal opened up three hundred years[1] back by a king called Nanda ('Naṃda-rāja-oghāṭita'). It was brought into the heart of this capital by its further extension from the Tanasuliya Road (Tanasuliya-vāṭā). The name of this road is Oḍiyā, and it seems to have been a local name for the Tosali Road. From the location of the new royal palace, it appears that the capital was situated on the banks of a stream then as now known by the name of Prāchī.[2] The city had within it the famous tank called Isitāla-taḍāga mentioned in the Jaina 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra' ascribed to Bhadrabāhu[3] and placed in the Śailapura city of the territory of Tosali, the major or northern division of Aśoka's province of

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1. The expression 'ti-vasa-sata' may be taken also to mean one hundred and three years. But normally it stands for three hundred years, cf. 'Mahābhārata', ii. 15. 136 : 'tribhir varsha-śatair balam.'

2. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Mayurbhanj State, writes to me to say that there is a river called Prāchī on the northern part of the Puri district showing many temples in ruins on its both banks. It flows southwards within five or six miles east from the Liṅgarāja Temple.

3. This is really a much later composition attributed to Bhadrabāhu who is said to have flourished in the time of Chandragupta Maurya.

Kaliṅga. Thus seen, the Tosali area could not but be the outer zone of the city of Khibīra, a local non-Aryan equivalent of Śailapura[1] just as Khichingā may be that of Śailaśṛiṅga. Like Khibīra, the name of the city, the personal names of Khāravela, Kuḍepa and Vaḍukha seem quite alien and outlandish to the world of Sanskrit unless they be respectively the dialectical equivalent of the Pali Kālaveḷa[2] and the Sanskrit Kudeva and Vaṭuka.

Khāravela is extolled as a great scion of the Cheta or Cheti race which could boast of a long line of royal sages, may be from Vasu (Uparichara).[3] He is connected with the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty and represented as the third king in the direct line of the royal family of Kaliṅga.[4] His chief queen was the daughter of one king Lalāka of Hathisāha,[5] of a neighbouring but hitherto unknown territory. It appears that this queen and her two sons, the elder king Kuḍepa and the younger prince Vaḍukha, cooperated in completing the Mañchapurī group of caves. We have no record as yet of Khāravela to take us beyond the 14th year

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1. 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra', edited by Chaturvijaya and Punyavijaya, Shri Atmananda Jain Granth Ratnamala Serial No. 84, Vol. III, p. 883, verses 3149-3150 :

Tosali visae—

'Selapure Isitalāgammi hoti aṭṭhāhiyā mahāmahimā' | Saṃghadāsagaṇi's comm : 'Tosalivishaye Śailapure nagare Ṛishitaḍāgaṃ nāma saraḥ. Tatra varshe varshe bhūyān loko' shṭāhikāmahimāṃ karoti''.

This goes to prove that Khāravela's capital Khibīra was just a local non-Aryan word for Śailapura ('khi = śaila'. hill, hilly, 'bīra = pura' ?), and the Ṛishitaḍāga was a sacred tank in Tosali like the Gayā Tank mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa (Papañcha-sūdanī, i, p. 178). According to the 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra', the Ṛishi Taḍāga of Śailapura in Tosali was a sacred lake like tank to which the people of Kaliṅga, if not of India, came annually in large numbers for the purpose of bathing and performing the 'aṭṭhāhikā' (Pali 'aṭṭhakā' Sk. 'ashṭakā') ceremony in the interest of the deceased ancestors.

Bindu Sarovar on the north side of the Liṅgarāj Temple of Bhuvaneśwar took evidently the place of the Ṛishi Taḍāga of old as the sacred tank, while the ancient tank itself may be confidently identified with the big tank now known as Kausalyā Gaṅgā, the biggest in the locality, which is now completely silted up and lies at a distance of about two miles south-east from the Liṅgarāj Temple. The annual congregation of pilgrims and visitors assumed the form of a large 'melā' or fair.

2 'Mahāvaṃśa', ix. 22.

3. K. P. Jayaswal reads—'rājisi-Vasu-kula-viniśrito'. I read 'rājisiva[ṃ]sa-kula-viniśrito'.

4. Tatiye Kaliṃga-rājavaṃse purisa-yuge'.

5 Acc. to R. D. Banerjee's reading, of king Lalāka grandson of Hathisāha (Hastisiṃha).

of his reign or any literary tradition to tell us anything about the royal dynasty after Kuḍepa.

Khāravela's time may be determined on the following data of chronology :

1. Close resemblance of the rhythmical prose diction of the Hāthigumphā Inscription with that of the Pali 'Milindapañha' to be dated in 500 B. E. (ca. A. D. 17), say the 1st century.

2. close palaeographic similarity between this inscription and the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I ;

3. first rise of the Āndhra-Śātakarṇis placed by the Purāṇas immediately after the fall of the Kāṇvāyana-Śuṅgabhṛityas and 304 years from the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, say in 29 B. C. (323-294) ;

4. contemporaneity of Khāravela with one Śātakarṇi, say Śātakarṇi I[1] whose territory was by-passed by the former when he had marched west to terrorise the city of Asika from the bank of the river Kaṇhabemṇā (Kṛishṇā) ;

5. contemporaneity of Khāravela with Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra), king of Magadha, better Aṅga-Magadha, who is probably mentioned as the nephew of king Āshāḍhasena of Ahichchhatrā in one of the Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions ;

6. contemporaneity of Khāravela with a Greco-Bactrian ruler (Yavana-rājā) whose name appears to he (H) i (ra) mavo[2] corresponding to Heramayo (Greek Ermaiou) of the legend on the coins of Hermaios (ca. A. D. 20-30), and not Dimita as made out by Dr. Sten Konow and identified with Demetrios, son of Euthydemos.

7. posteriority of the sculptures in the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri to those of the Bharhut and earlier Bodhgayā stone-railings from the chronological as well as the stylistic point of view.

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1. (A. D. 4-14) according to the Purāṇas. Pargiter, 'Dynasties of the Kali Age', pp. 70-71.

2. The name as now made out by me consists of four letters and the last two letters are definitely 'mavo' or 'mevo'. See D. C. Sircar's Plate, section II.

It goes without saying that all the above data of chronology point to one and the same conclusion, namely, that Khāravela's reign began and probably also ended in the first quarter of the first century A. D. It is in vain that Jayaswal has tried to identify the Magadha ruler Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra who is known as the traditional founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. The Greco-Bactrian king Demetrios must be ruled out of court not only because his name does not occur in Khāravela's incription but also on the ground that his activities remained confined to the western side of the Sulaiman range. The Purāṇa list of the Śuṅga kings is altogether misleading. It is very strange indeed that the Purāṇas take no notice of the several Mitra kings who find mention in inscriptions and on coins. The word 'mitra' is invariably a surname-like part of their personal names, but this is not the case with all the Śuṅgas mentioned in the Purāṇas. We must at once liquidate the business of the Senānī Pushyamitra as the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty which supplanted the Maurya if he were the same personage as Marshall Pushyamitra of the Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhanada or Dhanadeva. Here Pushyamitra is introduced as a performer of two horse-sacrifices, and, Dhanada-Dhanadeva,[1] the ruler of Kosala and son of Phalgudeva, as the sixth man in descent from the illustrious Marshall (Senāpatiḥ).[2] Thus 'mitra' is not the common surname-like appendage to all the names. The pure Sanskrit diction of the record and its Brāhmī letter-forms cannot but connect it with an age which witnessed the production of Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of A D. 150. The discovery of an inscription representing any Indian monarch as the performer of a horse-sacrifice save and except about the beginning of the Christian era and later is unexpected. If the performance of a horse-sacrifice by a Pushyamitra were mentioned by Patañjali he should be placed after Christ. On other grounds Dr. D. C. Sircar feels himself

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1. The fourth letter alone is really missed.

2. The above interpretation of the expression 'Senāpateḥ Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena Kauśikī-putreṇa' is justified by the Purāṇa statement : 'Agnimitraḥ sutās chāshṭau' meaning Agnimitra and his eight descendants. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 31.

justified in placing the present text of the 'Mahābhāshya' somewhere in the second century A. D.[1]

Among the earlier Mitras, Bṛihaspatimitra was definitely a rival and contemporary of Khāravela's. If Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, represented as the king of Magadha (Māgadha rājā), be one and the same ruler as Bahasatimita of the Pabhosā Cave Inscription, represented as nephew of king Āshāḍhasena of Ahichchhatrā, as seems most likely[2], the relevancy of the mention of his name presumably lay in the fact that the cave was excavated by his maternal uncle within his dominion.[3] The case in point is afforded by the Bharhut East Gateway Inscription in which the donor, king Dhanabhūti, had to mention the name of the Śuṅga territory, inasmuch as the place where the erection was made was situated within it (Suganaṃ raje). The donor himself, as may be inferred from some of the Mathurā Inscriptions, belonged to the Mathurā region which abutted on the Śuṅga territory. Similarly in the other instance, Ahichchhatrā and Mitra dominions were neighbouring but independent territories.

Bṛihaspatimitra as king of Magadha or Aṅga-Magadha had at least two predecessors, namely, Brahmamitra whose queen Nāgadevī donated

1. D. C. Sircar, 'Indian Historical Quarterly', Vol. XV (1939), ff. 633. Dr. Sircar's real position is that Patañjali himself was a contemporary of Pushyamitra-Śuṅga, but his work, the original 'Mahābhāshya', was revised and enlarged later by early grammarians of his own school. The 2nd Century date for the extant form of the work (which is not earlier than the 2nd century A. D.), is based on such facts as : (1) reference to the Śakas and Yavanas (Greeks) as two foreign peoples who became Hinduised and counted as the best among the Śūdras of the time (Comm : Pāṇini, II. 4. 10) ; (2) reference to a fully developed form of the Vyūha-doctrine of the Sātvatas which is not traceable in any pre-Christian Indian inscription. The grammatical example, 'iha Pushyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ'. has been quoted from the work of an earlier poet who "wrote after the epic legend of Sagara and his sons had become quite famous." In the opinion of L. de la Vallee Poussin ('L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas', etc., pp. 199f.), "Patañjali was later and probably much later than the middle of the 2nd century before the (Christian) era."

2. There is a close affinity between the two inscriptions as regards their language and palaeography.

3. The occurrence of the proper name Udāka without the suffix correctly made out as yet in the Pabhosā Cave Inscription on the rock outside creates a difficulty when it is taken to denote the fifth Śuṅga ruler of the Purāṇas. Obviously the mention of another unconnected ruler in the record is not necessary, and Udāka, like Khalatika of Aśoka's Third Barābar Hill Cave Inscription, may be treated as the name of the rock : Udāka (si), Kha (latikasi).

an important pillar of the old Bodhgayā stone-railing and Indrāgnimitra whose elderly queen Kuraṅgī largely donated this particular erection in the country and kingdom of Magadha. The very first pillar of the Bharhut outer stone-railing was similarly donated by Chāpādevī, wife of Revatīmitra, evidently a prince of the Mitra royal house of Vidiśā. These Mitras were not Buddhists by their religious faith, although tolerant enough to allow their wives to donate Buddhist foundations. But none of them is extolled as a performer of a horse-sacrifice. The performance of a horse-sacrifice gained in prominence in the Indian inscriptions under the influence of the Great Epic legends in its later redaction.

The Hāthigumphā Inscription not only refers to a Nanda King (Naṃdarājā) who had opened a canal from the Tanasuliya Road to connect it with a river near by some three hundred years (in a round figure) before the regular reign of Khāravela but affords us a clue to his connection with the kingdom of Magadha or Aṅga-Magadha along with his suzerainty over Kaliṅga. Immediately after the statement concerning the fact of subduing the Magadha king Bṛihaspatimitra and before that concerning the riches brought from Aṅga-Magadha there occurs a statement which was read by Jayaswal as : 'Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ cha Kā(liṃ)ga-Jina-saṃnivesaṃ' and taken to mean that Khāravela brought back to Kaliṅga the Jina image of Kaliṅga which was taken away by the Nanda king. This is unacceptable now, because, first of all, the word 'saṃnivesa' never means an image, and, secondly, the reading is wrong. The third letter of the word read as 'Kāliṅga' is other than ga ; it is clearly 'ta' and more accurately 'tu(ṃ)'. One must read 'Naṃdarājanītaṃ cha Kā(liṃ)ga' as 'Na(ṃ)darāja-ninhavaṃ cha(kā)tuṃ'. For the combined letter to be now read 'nha', we have to compare it with that in the word Kanhabeṃṇā in line 4[1].

Khāravela did something very important in Magadha in the interests of the Nanda royal line, although what was actually done cannot be clearly made out ;[2] it is just to be imagined or conjectured from the trend

1. D. C. Sircar's Plate, Section II.
2. After two or three letters we get four letters that have been and can be read as 'saṃ nivesa'.

of the statement as a whole in connection with Khāravela's north-western campaign in his twelfth regnal year, and it is quite reasonable to surmise that he reinstated the Nanda (i. e., Maurya) line in the sovereignty of Magadha. If so, it must have been from the hand of a ruler of that newly set up line that Marshall Pushyamitra seized the sovereignty and founded a later and irregular form of Mitra dynasty,—irregular in the sense that the names of all its kings had not the surname-like 'mitra' for their indispensable adjunct. This conjecture, if correctly made, can well explain why Marshall Pushyamitra became so keenly interested in performing a horse-sacrifice. The performance of the second horse-sacrifice on his part signalises the recovery of his position which was probably endangered by a Yavana invasion of his territory from the Punjab and Mathurā region. If there were an earlier Pushyamitra who became the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty, he must be treated as Pushyamitra I. The history of the kingdom of Magadha between Bṛihaspatimitra and the Imperial Guptas is yet to be written. The hiatus may perhaps be satisfactorily filled in by the career of the Sehāpati Pushyamitra and his successors.

Khāravela arose in the wake of the Great Epic idea of 'digvijaya' meaning the periodical military expedition on the part of men of the warrior race and 'dharmavijaya' which consisted in subduing weaker rulers, exacting tribute, collecting riches and obtaining presents but not in depriving them of their territories. There is no instance on record in which any territory was permanently annexed to the kingdom of Kaliṅga. Khāravela's was a meteoric career. What to think of this that he felt proud to be represented in his famous epigraph as a mighty warrior who possessed the quality, capacity and equipment for plundering and looting the whole of India, traditionally the earth extending as far as to the four seas ('chaturaṃta-luṭhana-guṇa-upeta'). How far was this consistent with his pious Jaina faith is still a riddle of the Sphinx So far only that he is nowhere represented as a warrior with military zeal who meant wanton destruction and annexation of any territory, abduction of women and raping. He just marched with his large and well-equipped army,—horses, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers, knocked at the gates of important cities in the north and south, besieged

them and triumphantly returned with riches and booties for increasing the wealth of his State and spending it for the joy and happiness of his people, for giving them all manner of reliefs, for granting them exemptions of all kinds,[1] for entertaining them with all kinds of varieties amusemets and exciting games and sports, for enriching and improving the art and architecture of his country, and for advancing the cause of the progress of his country's culture and civilization. The performance of a Rājasūya or Aśvamedha sacrifice and the holding of a Durbar on such an occasion was foreign to his idea. His showy and ostentatious nature found its satisfaction just in making displays of the signs of his royal glory and prosperity ('rājaseyaṃ saṃdaṃsayaṃto'). The liveliness and zeal of his dynamic and fluid character were manifest in all spheres of his activities. And, upon the whole, it may be said that historically his reign and career, methods and policies formed a very remarkable transition between the unostentatious but educative Dharmavijaya career of Aśoka and the pompous, ostentatious and awe-inspiring Digvijayas alias Dharmavijayas, of later days.

Khāravela emulated the fame of the Magadha king Aśoka both as a builder and a ruler who honoured and helped all sects ('savapāsaṃḍa-pūjaka'). I have also sought to maintain that the Nanda king who is credited with the opening up of the Tanasuliya Road Canal is Aśoka, and not Mahāpadma Nanda, and the main reason for it is that Kaliṅga was altogether an unconquered and independent country before Aśoka (R. E. XIII). The Nanda king cannot be treated as a local chief of Kaliṅga in view of the fact that as appears from Khāravela's inscription, his main connection was with the kingdom of Magadha. The interval of time (300 years in a round figure) between him and Khāravela is rightly applicable to Aśoka.

Near about the time of Patañjali, author of the 'Mahābhāshya', there

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1. I find that Jayaswal's reading of sava-gahaṇaṃ cha kārayituṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ jāti-parihāraṃ dadāti' is to be preferred, to my 'jaya parihāraṃ' Cf. 'sava jāta-parihārikā, sabbajāti-parihāra, sava-parihārehi', and sarva-kara-parihāraiḥ' in D. C. Sircar's 'Select Insoriptions', Vol. I, pp. 192 ff , 408 ff., 435 ff. 406.

were some degenerate Maurya rulers who "devised the expedient of replenishing their royal coffers by the selling of images of three gods called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha,—the images that were being sold in his time for the purpose of worship "(Comment on Pāṇini's aphorism, V. 3. 99). "Of the tree gods, the first finds mention in the 'Arthaśāstra', and the first two in the Jaina 'Jñātādharmakathā Sūtra' (as also in the Jaina 'Aupapātika Sūtra')".[1] If these Mauryas be supposed to have been the rulers who came into existence since the reinstatement of the Nanda (Maurya) line by Khāravela, the information supplied by Patañjali becomes easily intelligible. The 'Arthaśāstra' as a 'Sūtrā-bhāshya' Sanskrit treatise on royal polity by Vishṇugupta deserves to be considered as a literary production of the reign of Pushyamitra II and the Nanda-rājā who fell by his political weapon as a late Nanda (Maurya) ruler ousted for good by this very Pushyamitra.

From the record of the 7th regnal year, it is evident that when Khāravela led his north-western campaign and besieged the city of Rājagṛiha (modern Rājgir in South Behār), the Greco-Bactrian ruler Hermaios marched south-east with his army and armaments from Uttarāpatha (Punjab) through Mathurā for an encounter with him in the very heart of Magadha. The retreat of the latter to Mathurā may be treated as a fact in evidence of the existence or continuance of the Greco-Bactrian suzerainty over the place. The record of the 12th regnal year goes to prove that Khāravela had to take heed of his rivals in the north-west region, the rulers of Uttarāpatha (Uttarāpatha-rājāno) before he could think of safely dealing with the then ruler of Magadha.

As for the extension of his power in the south, it is clear from the fact that the contemporary king of Pāṇḍya (Paṃḍa-rājā) was compelled to send him valuable presents in the shape of pearls, gems, jewels and rich apparel of various patterns. The southern extension of his kingdom of Kaliṅga, too, can be easely inferred from the fact of inclusion in it

1. Barua, The Arthaśāstra': 'A Blend of Old and New' in the 'Bhārata-Kaumudī', Vol. I. pp 115 ff.

of a place called Pithuḍa or Pithuḍaga, probably the same as Pihuṇḍa, a town near the sea-coast which finds mention in the Jaina 'Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra', may be near about the river Lāṅgala, modern Lāṅguliyā, and no less of a big marshy area called Tamira-daha or Tramira-daha whose modern identity seems to be preserved in the name of Tamrihaṇḍ at a south-east corner of the Eastern Patna States to the north-west of the district of Ganjam.

THE COLOSSAL BUDDHAS AT BĀMIYĀN

by BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR.

Certainly the most impressive feature of the religious establishment at Bāmiyān are the two giant statues of Buddhas that look out from vast niches across the deserted valley. At the east of the great cliff is the smaller of the two colossi which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang identified as Śākyamuni (Fig. 1). It must at that time have been the principle cult image of a large monastic community : surrounding the niche of the Buddha and connected with it and with one another by a system of galleries and staircases are the chapels and lecture halls where the monks carried on their religious routine.

Around the top of the niche of the big statue are painted the Seven Buddhas of the Past (including Śākyamuni), and Maitreya, the Messiah ; on the soffit of the vault is the wellknown fresco of a sun god in his chariot, a solar symbol of the Buddha or Maitreya that I have discussed at length elsewhere.[1] The conception of the smaller colossus at Bāmiyān and the paintings that surround it is already that of a 'maṇḍala' in an embryonic stage. The main image can definitely be identified as Śākyamuni from Hsüan-tsang's description mentioned above, but, as the size of the statue alone indicates, this is no longer Śākyamuni, the mortal teacher of the primitive religion, but a vast magnification, almost twenty times the size of a man, a superhuman being, a 'Lokottara' : "Nothing in the fully enlightened Buddha is comparable to anything in the

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1. Rowland, B., "Buddha and the Sun God", Zalmoxis, I, 1938.



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world, but everything connected with these great sages is supramundane.[1] The vast size of the images at Bāmiyān is meant to suggest the immeasurable dimensions of the Buddha Lokottara : they point in a direct way the moral contained in Hsüan-tsang's story of the Brahmin who doubted that the Buddha was sixteen feet high and, on endeavouring to measure the Master's stature, found it continually growing beyond the lengths of his yard stick and although the Brahmin climbed ever upward the lord at last overtopped the highest mountain.[2] It is precisely this docetic theory of the nature of Buddha that is a contribution of the Lokottaravādins of Bāmiyān to later Mahāyāna doctrine : Hsüan-tsang tells us, speaking of the community at Bāmiyān, "There are ten convents and about 1000 priests. They belong to the Little Vehicle and the school of the Lokottaravādins".[3] What has survived of the decoration around the top of the niche of the 120 foot Buddha—the Sun God, together with the seven Buddhas and Maitreya—is the most usual Hinayāna iconography. Even in Early Buddhism, judging from Hsüan-tsang's account, giant images of Buddha were not unusual.[4]

However, in addition to the paintings around the head of the Buddha, a few fragments of frescoes lower down on the sides of the niche indicate that once the entire alcove was decorated with rows of seated Buddhas. This whole vast scheme was conceived directly in relation to the statue of the Buddha who stands like an axis, a Mount Meru, between heaven and earth : that such a conception of the Buddha as the very pole of the cosmos was intended is further suggested in

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1. Thomas, E. I, 'History of Buddhist Thought', New York, 1933, p. 174. On the term 'Lokottaravādin', see also Watters, T., 'On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India', London, 1904, p. 117. What would seem to be a late, "material", and definitely untraditional attitude toward the making of such giant statues might be found in the 'Ratnakūṭasūtra' (T. 310, LXXXIX. See 'Hobogirin', III. p. 213 b.) : "O Bhagavat, en fabriquant une image du Tathāgata, haute de quatre doigts on s'acquiert des mérites incalculables, combien plus inconcévable le mérite d'en faire une grande comme le Sumeru." By "untraditional" I mean that there is no indication of any understanding of the fundamental idea in making a colossus to imply the identification of the Buddha with the primordial governing axis or pole of the world and the suggestion, by size alone, that he is the universe and coextensive with it like the ancient Puruṣa. The iconography of the Bāmiyān images, as will be shown, indicates that these ideas were not entirely lost.

2. Kramrisch, St., "Emblems of the Universal Being," JISOA, 1935, III, 2, p. 150.

3. Beal, S. 'Buddhist Records of the Western World', New York, London, 1906, I, p. 50.

4. Ibid. I. pp. 21 and 134.

the painting of the Sun on the "sky" which is the vault over the head of the image and as though "supported" by it. The conception is already that of Śākyamuni as the transcendent ruler of the universe, and yet it is through him, the Buddha, who once walked on earth—or appeared to do so—that all these immortal Buddhas of the Ten Worlds are accessible.[1] With reference to the multiple images of Buddha that once decorated the walls of the enormous niche, it may be pointed out that the Lokottaravādins initiated the idea of the Buddha's power of sending out replicas of himself : these fictitious apparitions are called 'paropaharas' or 'nirmitas'—the latter perhaps related to 'Nirmāṇa Kāya'.

This is a concept on which is built much of the transcendental mechanism of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.[3]

1. Mus, P., 'Barabuḍur', Hanoi, 1935, p. 544. "un culte s'adressant aux Tathāgata abstraits à travers la personne ou la statue du Buddha historique." Ibid. p. 546, "Le Buddha historique, ou plutot son corps glorieux.—a multiplie sa personne a tous les points du compas." "Le Buddha prêchant s' égale pour un temps aux Tathāgatas des dix regions de l' espace."

This seems to present already fully developed the Mahāyāna concept of the unity of the multiple Buddhas in the transcendent person of Śākyamuni : 'ichi butsu issai butsu'. (Cf. 'Hobogirin', p. 194).

2. Shastri. H. P., "Introduction to the Advayavajra-saṃgraha", Gaekwad's Oriental Series XL p. xviii. See also Senart, E., 'Le Mahāvastu', Paris, 1882, I, p. 181, 1. 9 (p. 520n.) and p. 206.

3. 'Taisho Issaikyo', 262, Vol. IX, p. 32 c, col. 4-3 from end : "The moment has come to assemble here all the Buddhas (which I) produced by dividing my body (Jap., 'bunshin'), and who teach the law in the ten regions of space." The 'bunshin' or 'kebutsu' are creations of the Buddha's mind, replicas indivisible from his substance which he has created in all worlds : "Therefore, Mahāpratibhāna, have I made many Tathāgata-frames which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought here (Kern, p. 231); or (Mus, p. 602), "C'est pour cela, o Mahāpratibhāna, qu'il va falloir que je réunisse ici toutes les formes de Tathāgata (tathāgatāvigraha) que j'ai moi-même miraculeusement créées (sic) de mon corps et qui, dans les dix points de l'espace, enseignent la loi aux creatures, chacune dans des terres de Buddha distinctes. dans des milliers d'univers". Miss Antoinette Hodnette has kindly furnished me the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. (Kern, text, p. 242. 11, Wogihara and Tsuchida, p. 209. 26) : "I tan maya'pi Mahāpratibhāna bahavas 'tathāgatavigrahā nirmitā' ye daśasu dikṣu anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu loka-dhātu-sahasrēṣu sathvānāṃ dharmaṃ desayanti te sarve khalu ih'ānayitavyā bhaviṣyanti" ; the Tibetan equivalent for the term in question is (Folio, 106a 5, small), "de-lzhi-gsegs-pahi-gzugs".

A good example of the use of this term, 'bunshin', almost as an equivalent of 'kebutsu' may be found in the 'Jorurijodobyo ('Hobogirin'. Taisho index, 929) : Komura, "Horyūji kondo hekiga no meidai ni tsuite", 'Bijutsu to Shiseki', no. 70, p. 513. See also the 'Keitokudentoroku', Nanjio, 1524 and 'utai', "Seiganiji :" "Dai bosatsu...chiko no kage hiroku ga, ittai bunshin arawarete, shujo saido no go honzon nari". In an unpublished fresco at Tun-huang that evidently represents this moment in the 'Saddharma-puṇḍarīka', just before the opening of the miraculous stūpa, small images of Buddhas are seen in a swarm around the head of the central Śākyamuni. The term, 'bunshin', could be used here as it is in Japan to designate these emanations that are more usually described as (Jap.) Kebutsu ; (Skr.) 'Nirmāṇa Buddha'.

Of peculiar interest and significance for the character of the Buddhism that flourished at Bāmiyān is Hsüan-tsang's description of the smaller colossus : this sentence has been translated by Beal, "It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands".[1] The same interpretation has been given by Watters and the latest translator, M. Pelliot.[2] A fact that seems to have been overlooked by these writers is that the two characters, (Chinese) 'fên shên' (Jap.) 'bunshin', form what is a regular compound in Buddhist terminology and designate the smaller Buddhas or emanations of the universal Buddha as seen on the haloes of innumerable Japanese statues of all periods.[3] Read in this way the passage takes on a totally different meaning : "The 'Nirmāṇa' (divided-bodies-of Buddha) 'Buddhas' have been separately cast and joined together." It has always been difficult to reconcile the translation of 't'u-shi' as "brass" or "bronze" with the obvious stone and mud figure that has survived to the present day.[4] If we accept the alternate translation of 'bunshin', it is easy to imagine that smaller images in metal were attached somewhere about the colossus. Since there is no room for them, nor any evidence that such attachments

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1. Beal, p. 51.

2. Watters, T., 'On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India', London, 1904, p. 118. Pelliot, P., 'Memoires de Hiuan-tsang, Notice sur Bamiyan," Paris, 1934, p. 55, and in Hackin, J. and Godard. A. and Y., 'Les Antiquités Buddhiques de Bamiyan', Paris, 1928, p. 80.

3. In vulgar Japanese this combination of characters means parturition ; they embody the same suggestion of the "division of the body" that is implied in the Buddhist sense. The possibility of the translation "emanations" or 'Nirmāṇa Buddhas' has been suggested by Professor Ono Gemmyo in his commentary on Hsüan-tsang's Memoirs, ('Kokuyaku Issaikyo', 'Shidenbu', XVI, p. 65 n. 21). Takakusu ('Taisho Issaikyo', LXI, p. 2087) retains the old reading of these characters. Cf. an inscription of 776 from Tun huang, (Chavannes, 'Dix Inscriptions Chinoises de l'Asie Centrale, Memoires Presentés par divers savants a l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', 1892. Tome XI, Pt. 2, p. 62). E. Chavannes (p. 73) translates this, "les milles Buddhas divisent leurs corps se rassemblent et se réalisent dans les mondes (nombreux commes des grains) de sable" ; this might also be rendered as, "the emanations of the thousand Buddhas gathered and manifested themselves in the worlds numerous as grains of sand".

4. In the 'Life of Hiuen-tsiang', however, (Beal, S., London 1911, p. 53) the statue is described as "a standing figure of Śākya, made of calamine stone, (or covered with brass plates)". In Group E at Bāmiyān, there is a roughly shaped stone foundation or armature of a seated image : the now completely flat surface is pitted with deep holes intended for wooden pegs to hold in place either a clay or metal shell. Watters (p. 119) translates 't'u-shi' as ' bronze'.

ever existed inside the niche, it might be possible to conjecture that they were fastened around the outside of the cave. Professor Ono Gemmyo in his book on Mahāyāna art, insists that the "bunshinkebutsu" were "separately cast" and attached to the halo of the image,[1] and proposes a comparison with the Daibutsu of Todaiji (Nara) and the Roshana (Vairocana Buddha) of Toshodaiji[2].

The larger of the two colossi at Bāmiyān is housed in an enormous cusped niche at the western end of the great cliff (Fig. 2). It was carved presumably at about the same time as its smaller companion.[3] Although the hands are now broken off, it seems likely that originally the right hand was raised in 'abhaya mudrā', and the left, as in so many Buddha statues of Mathurā and Gandhāra was shown holding a fold of the robe. It is notable that, in his description of this statue, Hsüan-tsang refers to it merely as 'Fo hsiang' (Jap, 'butsuzo'), or "Buddha image", whereas the reader will remember he specifically designated the smaller idol at Bāmiyān as Śākyamuni.[4]

The scheme of painted decoration in the interior of the great vaulted chamber originally was even more extensive and complicated than the cycle in the niche of the smaller Buddha (Fig. 3). Standing on the head of the colossus, we can see ornamenting the ceiling above the images of numerous enthroned Bodhisattvas with attendants and musicians. On the haunch of the vault at the right and left again are rows of these

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1. Ono Gemmyo, 'Daijo bukkyo geijutsushi no kenkyu', Tokyo, 1929, pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid. p. 12.
3. The drapery style of the smaller (120 foot) statue is an enormous enlargement of the formula of deeply channelled folds with sharp crests seen in Gandhāra images of the third and fourth centuries A. D. (Cf. Bachhofer, L., 'Early Indian Sculpture,' New York, n. d., Pl 155).

Allowing for a time-lag between Bāmiyān and the main centres of Graeco-Buddhist art, it may be even later. The wall paintings decorating the niche of this image are, as I have shown elsewhere certainly no earlier than the sixth or seventh century A. D. (Cf Rowland, B., "The dating of the Sasanian paintings at Bamiyan and Dukhtar-i-Nushirvan", 'Bulletin of the Iranian Institute,' Dec. 1946, pp. 35-42). The larger (175 foot) image is a magnification of Mathurā statues of the Gupta period in which the drapery is reduced to a pattern of string like loops. (Cf. Coomaraswamy, A. K, 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art,' London 1927, Fig 158). This figure at Bāmiyān may, therefore, be dated not earlier than the fifth century A. D.

4. Beal, 'Buddhist Records', I, p. 50.

seated deities. Immediately below are painted Buddhas in multicoloured haloes and in various 'mudrās.' Looking up from the feet of the giant statue we can see that the under surfaces of the cusps of the arches are painted with representations of trinities of flying deities in medallions. Below these again are the fragments of row upon row of Buddhas, differentiated from one another by their 'mudrās' and the trees under which they are seated. At present the first seventy-five feet of wall surface is devoid of any painting.

I repeat here that the very scale of this great image at Bāmiyān implies that the religious of this centre considered the Buddha as a more than mortal teacher and is thereby thoroughly in keeping with the transcendent nature attributed to him by the Lokottaravādins. We should also consider in this regard the possible influence of classic antiquity on the fashioning of enormous images of the gods not only in Christian iconography, but also as here on Buddhist art. I need only mention the statue of the Olympian Zeus and the effigies of the divinized emperors of Rome among the logical artistic prototypes for the practice of magnification to suggest a supra-terrestrial power.[1] There is a possible parallel and explanation for the making of colossi in the beginnings of Christian art. In the West, the Early Christian conception of the Lord as the Good Shepherd was in Byzantium of the fourth century and later replaced by the conception of the superhuman Christ reigning in majesty above the skies. Under influences almost certainly emanating from Iran, the emperors as early as Constantine had assumed the title of Kosmokrator ; the founder of Byzantium himself was portrayed in statues of giant size, dimensions deemed appropriate for the Lord of the Universe. When the emperor himself had thus grown to colossal stature, it was hardly possible to show any longer the Light of the World as a mere man ; there evolved immediately the Christ Pantokrator,

1. On this problem in Early Christian art, consult Visser, W. J. A., 'Die Entwicklung des Christusbildes in Literatur und Kunst in der Frühchristlichen und Frühbyzantischen Zeit,' Bonn, 1934, p 61. It must be remembered—especially in regard to what follows—that the Mahāsaṅghika sects regarded the Tathāgatas as having limitless 'rūpakāya.' (Cf. Kimura, R 'Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism' Calcutta 1927, p. 6.

Ruler of All and regal embodiment of the Word of the Father. Since colossi do not appear in Buddhism before the Gandhāra school, it may be that among the contributions of this hybrid art was the plastic realization of the superhuman nature of the Buddha contained in the texts, aided and abetted by the Graeco-Roman artists' knowledge of over life-sized figures of gods and kosmokrators in the West.

One very good reason for creating colossal images of Buddha even at a very early period would be the conception of the Lord as Mahāpuruṣa. Buddha and Cakravartin, with whom he early became identified, are essentially the Puruṣa (Prajāpati) of Vedic mythology and mysticism : the 'lakṣaṇas' are derived from the distinctive marks of the Cosmic Man.[1] They are in no sense physiological features but "cosmognomical emblems."[2] The Great Person is at once the year, a solar myth, and contains all worlds within his mystic anatomy.[3] One could look on this concept as a synthesism with ideas already expressed in the 'Bhagavad Gītā' where we read (XI, 13) "There in the body of the God of Gods, the son of Pāndu then saw the whole universe resting in one" and (XI, 20) "The space betwixt heaven and earth and all quarters are filled by Thee alone...(XI, 18) Thou art the Ancient Puruṣa."[4] As M. Mus has remarked there is a suggestion of just such a cosmological stature in the Buddha's flattening the earth with his footsteps, in the likening of his head to an umbrella :[5] indeed Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown that the early icons symbolizing Buddha by a parasol, altar, and footprints are really likenesses of the "mystical" body of the Great Person, respectively, sky, air and earth—or, in other words, the cosmic anatomy of Prajāpati.[6] It becomes clear with this that, as cosmic god and universal

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1. Cf. Senart, E., 'La légende du Buddha,' Paris, 1875, pp. 122-123 : this author indicates (p. 123) how the 'Lalita Vistara' assimilates Nārāyaṇa to the Buddha.
2. Kramrisch, St., "Emblems of the Universal Being," JISOA, III 2, Dec., 1935, p 160.
3. For the list of the marks of the Great Person, see RV X, 90 (Griswold. H. D, 'The Religion of the Rig-veda,' London, 1923, p. 344).
4. Swami Swarupananda, 'Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā ' Mavavati. Almora, 1933.
5. Mus, pp. 633-634.
6. Coomaraswamy, A. K., "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra," 'The Pocna Orientalist,' III, 1. April. 1938, p. 7.

ruler (Puruṣa-Cakravartin) equal to all space, Buddha could appropriately be shown in enormous size as though literally filling a whole "cosmos."[1] That cosmos is—in the case of the Bāmiyān Buddhas the shrine or niche that, like the 'chaitya,' the elevation of which it reproduces in cross section, may be understood as the cosmic house—its portals broad as the earth, its roof the sky :[2] "Cut........in the vertical direction, the massive world fabric shows its net where everything is fixed in its place."[3]

This idea of the Buddha-Puruṣa is already present in the chapter on "the vision of the Universal Form" in the 'Bhagavad Gītā' and corresponds to the conception of Vairocana in the 'Kegon-kyo' in which text the Tathāgata's body is described as comprehending all the directions, all space, all living beings ;[4] a similar text, the 'Bommokyo,' determined the iconography of the 'Daibutsu' at Nara.[5] On the Nara 'Daibutsu' the various Buddhas and worlds contained in Vairocana's universal form are represented on the petals of the lotus throne ;[6] at Yün Kang the colossal image of Vairocana in Cave 18 has its body clothed in a veritable garment of small Buddhas exactly in the same way that the multiple emanations of Lokeśvara cover the statues of this deity in Indo-China.[7]

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1. Or, in other words, "Altogether cosmognomical the Buddha image comprehends the universe" (Kramrisch, p. 163).

2. Coomaraswamy, p. 16.

3. Kramrisch, pp. 161-162.

4. Matsumoto, E., 'Tonkoga no Kenkyū,' Tokyo, 1937, p. 301-307 and Taisho, no. 278. The pictorial concept of God composed of Adam and Eve, etc. that parallels this concept is studied by R. Salomon, "Das Weltbild eines Avignonischen Denkers," 'Vortraege der Bibl. Warburg, 1925-26,' Berlin, 1928, p. 145, Taf. VII, app. 12 (Cod. Pal. lat 1993).

5. Elisséeff, S., 'The 'Bommokyo' and the Great Buddha of the Todaiji.' 'Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,' Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1936.—[For typographical reasons some of the accents, etc., had to be omitted on French and Japanese words. Ed.].

6. Ibid., p. 91.

7. Tokiwa D. and Sekino T., 'Buddhist Monuments in China,' Tokyo, 1925, Pl. 41. Matsumoto, pp. 313-314 ; and Getty, p. 73. There is some question in my mind as to the validity of Matsumoto's identification since not only is there an inscription of the year 489 A. D. (Tokiwa and Sekino, II, pp 54 55) with a specific reference to a dedication of a group of Buddha and Prabhūtaratna and a Maitreya trinity but also there are on the walls of the cave repeated representations of the two Buddhas in conversation, a factor which might lead one to suppose—as it did Sekino—that the whole cave is an illustration of the Lotus 'sūtra.' It is equally possible that private dedications such as these may have been completely independent of the main image—even inspired by a different scripture.

It is perhaps not too difficult to see that, as on the Nara 'Daibutsu' the worlds are engraved on the petals of the lotus throne so at Bāmiyān these creations of the Cosmic Lord's are painted, row upon row, on the sides and vault of the niche. Although it is of course impossible to state categorically that the colossus in Afghanistan already represents a production of the worship of Vairocana or Universal Buddha as understood by the esoteric sects, the implications of what we see at Bāmiyān—an enormous image surrounded by paintings of multiple Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—certainly suggests that the idea of Vairocana is there in all but name.

It is safe to say that the concept of Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa, present even in Hinayāna texts, and the role of 'lokottara', assigned to him in the Mahāsāṅghika sects, can be seen as working together to produce these first colossi of the Buddhist world.[1] The giant statues of Yün Kang and Lung-Men are the full development of this ideology and show us the Universal Lord of the Lotus Sūtra and the Avataṃsaka-Buddha as Brahmā, the Father of the World.

Since the great Buddhas of Bāmiyān were already hewn and painted and gilded when Hsüan-tsang visited the site in 632 A. D., it becomes apparent that this contribution to Mahāyāna iconography—and obviously to Mahāyāna thought—might well be credited to the monastic community at Bāmiyān. Although the Master of the Law describes the monks there as following the Hinayāna—precisely the school of the Lokottaravādins—it is apparent that their beliefs, as witnessed by the icons, were almost indistinguishable from those of the followers of the Great Vehicle.

In the Mahāsāṅghika sect of which the Lokottaravādins were a branch, there were already evolved certain definite Mahāyāna concepts. All the Buddhas were regarded as superhuman ; and these Tathāgathas have no worldly attributes ; limitless are their 'Rūpakāya' and powers. Some germ of the ideas of the 'Sambhogakāya' and 'Dharmakāya' are already manifested in these schools that flourished at Bāmiyān, as is

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1. In this connection, I quote Ch'ang Min on the two colossi of Vairocana at Bisakka (Ayodhyā ?) "Among the gods there is none greater than the Buddha" (Hobogirin, 3, Paris, 1937, p. 213a).





at least suggested in the very conception that we have been studying. The 'Mahāvastu', indeed, presents us with the idea of a Buddha between the mortal creature of the early religion and the quasi-eternal Tathāgata of the later faith.

Of particular interest is Hsüan-tsang's mention of the jewelled ornaments of the colossal Buddha : "To the north-east of the Royal City, there is...a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness."[1] That these decorations, almost certainly of metal, were attached separately and perhaps long after the making of the statue, is obvious enough from their disappearance today. As a matter of fact, at the back of the upper part of the niche there may still be seen traces of painted ribbons forming part of the Buddha's turban (Fig. 4). Hsüan-tsang's description of the Buddha's original appearance cannot help but remind us of M. Mus' penetrating analysis of the "bejewelled Buddha" in the development of the Mahāyāna faith.[2] The existence of these necklaces and jewels on the great statue at Bāmiyān seems to imply that the Buddhism of this monastic city was on its way to the fully developed conceptions of the Great Vehicle—the idea of bestowing jewels on the image as a symbol of his heritage from the Cakravartin and the assumption of the transcendental aspect of a King of Kings ("The Tathāgatas of the Past and Future are worthy to be equal with the King of Kings"[3]). In the same way the painting of Maitreya in the niche of the great Buddha shows the Messiah richly costumed with necklaces and a jewelled turban—symbols of the idea that Maitreya resides in the Tuṣita Heaven in the person of the transcendent Cakravartin : indeed it was once suggested, though with no very convin-

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1. Beal, I, p. 50.

2. Mus, "Le Buddha Paré," pp. 153 and 275. Both the scale and the originally magnificent decorations of the image make it appear certain that we have here a representation of the 'Saṁbhogakāya' of Buddha. I have hinted before that, as the art of Bāmiyān suggests, it was from the Mahāsāṅghika beliefs on the limitless form and powers of the Tathāgatas that the Mahāyāna concepts of the Saṁbhogakāya and Dharmakāya derive.

3. Ibid., p. 262.

cing evidence, by Professor Ono Gemmyo, that the colossus itself represented the Buddha of the Future.[1]

On the shoulders of the large image at Bāmiyān are structures with niches like openings in a dove-cot (Fig. 4). A possible explanation for these edifices is that they may have formed the armatures for shoulder flames—symbolical representations of the Buddha's magic 'tejas' as it is often shown in the statues of Gandhāra.[2]

Another suggestion which may at first appear audacious arises partly from the lack of evidence for such small figures ever having ornamented the smaller colossus and partly from the occasional inaccuracies in Hsüan-tsang's descriptions of what he saw : this suggestion is that the 'bunshin' actually formed part of the decoration of the larger Buddha —perhaps indeed, may have occupied the curious niches in the hitherto unexplained structures on the Buddha's shoulders. That these constructions would have been placed there after the Buddhist period seems impossible ; likewise it is apparent that in such an inaccessible position they could never have fulfilled any functional purpose and must in other words have had some connection with the decoration of the statue or the ritual of its worship. That the little arched openings in these dove-cot like structures might once have sheltered numerous small metal images considered as emanations of the Buddha appears on the surface to be an acceptable hypothesis and a confirmation of the proposed reading of Hsüan-tsang's text.

More than one detail of the niche of the great Buddha with its painted figures of scores of divinities suggests the descriptions of the Lotus Sūtra : a hint of such a connection is seen in the trinities of flying figures scattering flowers and jewels : one of them indeed carries a purse

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1. Ono, p. 13 ff. The identification was based mainly on the fact that a colossus of Maitreya is known to have existed at Darel and was described by Hsüan-tsang (Beal I, p. 134).

2. Foucher, A., 'L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra.' Paris, 1918, Vol. II, fig. 463. Foucher, Hackin, J., "Les travaux de la délégation archéologique francaise en Afghanistan", RAA, XII, 1, 1938, Pl. VI, fig. 21.

or bag, (full of jewels ?)[1] This latter personage calls to mind the passage from the eleventh chapter of the 'Saddharmapuṇḍarīka', "Thereupon thirty 'koṭis' of worlds in each direction were occupied by those Tathāgatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathāgatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Śākyamuni, and after giving them 'bags with jewel flowers' enjoined them thus : go, you men of good family, to the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, where the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, etc., is : salute him reverentially, and ask, in our name, after the state of his health, etc., strew him with this heap of jewels."[2] These flying deities could then be regarded as a link between the painted Buddhas and the colossal statues of the Lord. It is certain at least that this whole enormous complex of statue and related paintings in intended as a concrete illustration of one of the Mahāyāna texts describing an assembly of the Buddhas of all the worlds and all the 'Kalpas' together with the hosts of the Bodhisattvas.[3] The most usual feature of the illustrations of the 'Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,' namely the dialogue between Śākyamuni and the extinct Tathāgata, Prabhūtaratna, is missing. At any rate, we may be sure that the whole is definitely a Mahāyāna conception in which the Buddha is seen only as a reflection of a transcendental personality. Admittedly the Buddha is here conceived of as a Lokottara ; it seems, indeed, colossal images such as these at Bāmiyān and the similar giant statues in China were specifically intended to portray the universal nature of the Buddha, to incorporate in material form for the worshippers something of the power and glory of the unknowable mystery of the Saṃbhogakāya and the Dharmakāya, or Buddhist Logos.[4] Their aim, like the aim of all Mahāyāna art, was to present in knowable shape something of the essence of the Eternal Dharma ; "through the Buddha one sees the Dharma."

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1. Hackin, J., "Buddhist Art in Central Asia," Indian, Iranian and Chinese Influences, 'Studies in Chinese Art', London, 1938, pl. III. fig. 5.

2 Kern, p. 235.

3. The Mahāvastu credits Buddha with the power of sending out emanations : Shastri, M. H., 'Mahāvastu,' Gaekwad Or. Ser., XL, Baroda, 1927, pp. xviii-xix.

4. Taketaro and Nakagawa, 'Rock Carvings of the Yün-kang Caves,' Tokyo, 1921, plates 149, 197, 198. These are illustrations of Caves XV and XVII at Ta-t'ung.

A CARVING MOTIF AND ITS PROBABLE PHILOSOPHICAL RELATION

by V. RAGHAVAN

It is well understood that our art is rooted in our philosophy and religion. 'Śilpa śāstra' is oftentimes found as part of the 'Āgamas.' Dance, music, literature, painting, sculpture, architecture,—all crowded at and had their consecrated fulfilment in the temple. The artist was no less a 'sādhaka' than the 'yogin.' The tenets of a system and the symbologies of the worship were in his mind when he produced his creations. As the painter or sculptor was filling the temple wall with his drawings or carvings, on his ears were falling the words of the teacher sitting in the 'maṭha' or the 'prākāra' of the temple, explaining to his pupils or the devotees some grand conception of his philosophical system or illustrating some doctrine with a telling analogue. Some apparently random piece of work done by him in a corner of a wall in the temple may, on investigation, be found to have its own significance which would specially justify it.

In some of the temples in the Deccan and South India we find a dexterous carving in which there is a single head with two different bodies, of an elephant and a bull; viewing it from the elephant side or with the elephant-idea in mind, one discovers an elephant's head, trunk, etc.; viewing from the bull's side or with the bull-idea in mind, one discerns a bull's head;—a skilful execution of sculptural 'double entendre,' a 'śleṣa' in 'śilpa', to borrow a figure from rhetoric. It is found in temples in the Deccan (Paṭṭadakal) and South India: in Śrīśailam; Acyutarāya temple, Hampi; Śrīmuṣṇam and Dārāsuram (Rājarājeśvaram) near Kumbhakoṇam, etc. The carving reproduced on p. 76, by permission of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, is from Śrīmuṣṇam.

This recurring subject of the sculptors is probably not haphazard. It is not unlikely that it is a pictorial gloss on some basic idea or philosophical tenet which was very well known and was frequently stressed and explained with illustrations by the teachers moving in the temples. Nothing would be more important than to find the evidence which would make us understand our artistic achievements in their proper background, find the spiritual basis of some of these motifs and view them from their appropriate philosophical perspective.

Such a spiritual basis and correlation with doctrine are traceable for this piece of elephant-bull carving. Gorakṣa, alias Maheśvarānanda is a gifted poet and philosophical writer who hailed from a well-known religious centre and shrine on the banks of the Cauvery in Coladeśa. He was the son of Mādhava, a pupil of Mahāprakāśa. and a follower of Abhinavagupta of Kashmir in both poetics and philosophy. He expounded the Śaiva monistic philosophical system of Kashmir known as Pratyabhijñā or Anuttarādvaita. Of his works. the Mahārthamañjarī in Prākṛt Gāthās and Sanskrit gloss is available and has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 61), a work "sweet like the Cauvery, fragrant like a lily, and grand like the dance of Naṭarāja" as the author himself says.[1]

One of the basic doctrines of this Pratyabhijñā school of non-dualistic Śaiva philosophy is that Śiva and Śakti, Prakāśa and Vimarśa, are essentially one, but they appear to be two and different; how this duality of Śiva and Śakti is only apparent and how they are, in reality and ultimately, one is explained by Maheśvarānanda in the following verse and commentary :

आलक्खविसेसम्मिअ गअवुसहाणं दुवेण पडिभासं ।
एक्क्सिं च्चिअ अत्थे सिवसत्तिविहाअकप्पणं कुणिमो ॥
[आलेख्यविशेष इव गजवृषभयोर्द्वयोः प्रतिभासम् ।
एकस्मिन्नेवार्थे शिवशक्तिविभागकल्पनां कुर्मः ॥]

चित्रकृतो हि स्ववैदग्ध्यप्रकटनाय गजवृषभादीनां भिन्नस्वभावानामपि भावानामेकतरसन्निवेशयुक्त्या एकावभासः अन्यतरसन्निवेशयुक्त्या अन्यस्फुरणं च यथा भवति तथा विलिखन्तीति अविसंवादिनीयं मर्यादा । एवं स्थिते यथा गजवृषभोभयाकारसमर्पके भिन्नविशेषे गजवृषभयोः द्वयोरपि

1. p. 203.

पर्यालोचक प्रमातृजनानुसन्धानधाराधिरोहवैशिष्ट्येन कुम्भमण्डलशुण्डाकुण्डलीभावादियोगात् ककुदकूटप्रोथपुटौद्धण्यादिक्रमाच्च प्रतिनियतोऽवभासः प्रकाशनं भवति, तद्वदेकस्मिन्नेवार्थे सर्वेषामध्वनां पर्यन्ततः प्राप्ये तत्त्वे शिवः शक्तिरिति, प्रकाशो विमर्श इति एवंविधो यो यो विभागः विचित्रस्वभावानतिक्रान्तोऽप्यतिक्रान्त इवावभासमानोंऽशः, तस्य यत्कल्पनं स्वतस्तथासमर्थीभवतः तत्समर्थाचरणेनोन्मीलनं, तत् कुर्मः, जानीमो वदामोऽनुतिष्ठामश्च । २ ॥ p 74.

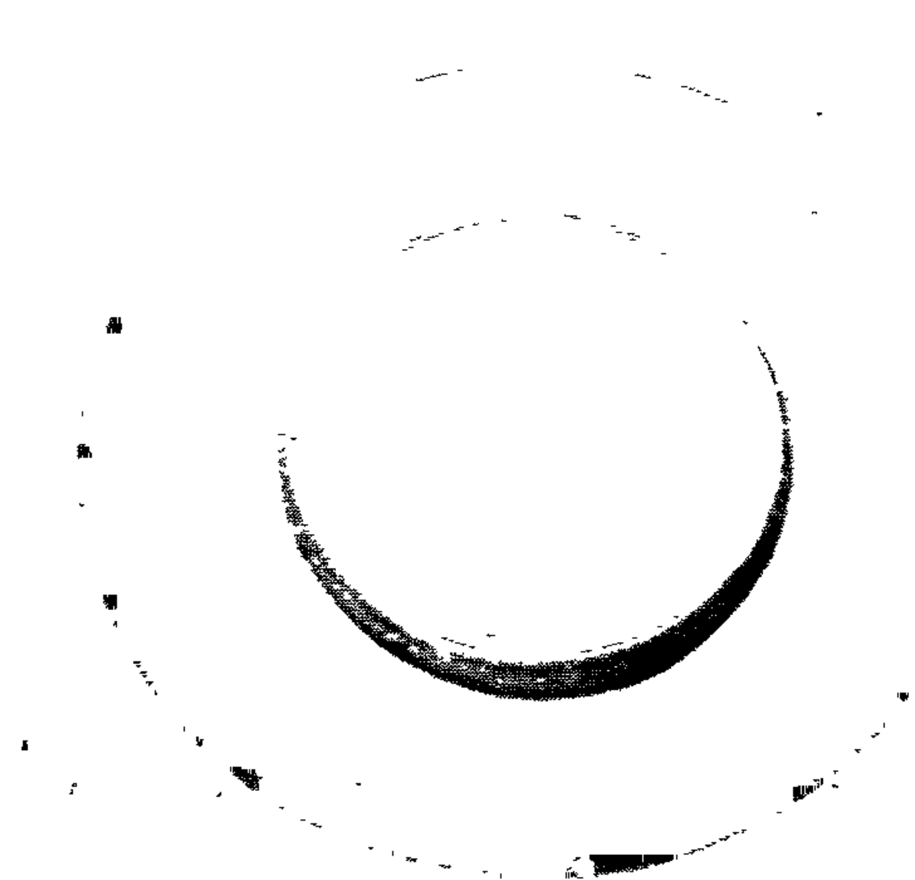
Maheśvarānanda says that in the same single object we adopt by imagination the distinction of Śiva and Śakti, just as we do the appearance of the two animals, elephant and bull, in a particular drawing. It is a well-known practice of the artists, he continues, to show their skill by drawing a picture which seen from one view point gives the image of one animal like the elephant, and seen from the other, yields the image of quite a different animal, the bull. Even so, from one angle of vision, we call the same Truth Śakti and Vimarśa, from another, we call the same, Śiva and Prakāśa.

The illustration of an elephant-bull painting or carving was perhaps an old one traditionally handed down by the teachers, and though in the gloss, Maheśvarānanda draws it from the field of paintings done by skilful artists, the recurrent theme suggests that its further popularisation in the temples was due to its employment by the philosophers. This 'Gaja-Vṛṣabha-Citra' was evidently figured on the wall as an aid to the 'manana,' ratiocinative contemplation, of the apparent duality and ultimate one-ness of Śiva and Śakti, or any of the shades of difference-unity, Bheda-Abheda, adopted by the different 'darśanas.'



THE IDENTIFICATION OF AN ANCIENT CHINESE JADE

by A. SALMONY



The practical purpose of most ancient Chinese bronzes is fully established by their shapes. while many jades of like age fail to tell their story in an equally obvious manner. As a consequence, some jade forms are still without a place in the repertory of material culture. Confronted with such a quandary, Chinese archaeologists of the XIth and immediately following centuries would have indulged in more or less fanciful speculations. The present-day investigator has more reliable avenues of inquiry at his disposal.

A form new to the present day observer has recently appeared among Chinese jade shapes. It is the disc with a comparatively large central opening, from which a short rim projects on both sides forming a central tube. An example in the S. H. Minkenhof Collection, New York, can be considered as a perfect representation of the type. It has in common with many others, but not all, concentric furrows on both sides of the disc. In this example they number three. The type entered the literature on jade when Laufer discussed a fragment of a disc (B. Laufer, 'Jade', Chicago, 1912, p. 167 and pl. XXV, 6). He expressly mentions the "projecting ridge over the perforation on both sides" and calls it "a unique specimen, none like it being illustrated in any Chinese book". A complete example was later included in a study

by Pope-Hennessy (U. Pope-Hennessy, 'Early Chinese Jades', New York, 1923, pl. XXXII, 1) and described as a "primitive object of unknown use with flaring lips on both sides". Both specimens are of relatively late origin, as will be demonstrated in due course. When Laufer finally illustrated two jades, similar in form to the one under consideration, but without the furrows (B. Laufer, 'Archaic Chinese Jades', Chicago, 1927, p. 26 and pl. XI, 1 and pl. XII, 1), he identified them as "wheel discs" and read a non-existent geometric pattern in the particles of vermillion accidentally adhering to one of them.

The type represents a ceremonial cup-stand, as the present writer intends to demonstrate. For this purpose, he suggests that first a search be made of the texts of Chinese antiquity. They provide two pertinent references. The Chih King describes a present of value as "a bowl, fixed on a jade-tablet" (S. Couvreur, 'Cheu King', Ho Kien fou, 1896, p. 409). The Li Ki must have the same object in mind when it records that "one employed the jade vase fixed on a large jade-tablet for libations" (S. Couvreur, 'Li Ki', Ho Kien fou, 1899, vol. I, p 730). These quotations establish the existence of an ancient implement to enhance the dignity of a cup or vase-like recipient, although without giving any information concerning the aspect of such "tablets".

Chinese excavations have yielded objects of circular shape for which the usage as cup or vase support is at least a distinct possibility. Loehr mentioned white stone discs, which were found in the prehistoric and largely neolithic "Black Pottery" site of Ch'eng Tzu Yai as well as at the bronze age capital near Anyang (M. Loehr, "Neue Typen grauer Shang-Keramik", 'Sinologische Arbeiten', vol. I, Peking 1943. p. 56). His description reads significantly : "These white chalk rings with black circles in the center are produced with the circumstantial exactitude and care of objects serving a magic ceremonial ; invariably, their form recalls the ring-discs of jade, called Pi". It is conceivable that the black circle of a chalk ring indicated the part that supported a cup and was thus hidden by it. The elimination of that section through perforation, practised on particularly valuable material, such as jade, requires no stretch of imagination. Since a Shang date will be presently assigned to the type under consideration, it is well to note that in this period appear

two slightly different versions of the same object of material culture. One, the stone-ring with black centre, continues a pre-historic form. The other, the jade disc with short projecting cylinder appears as an innovation based on the shape of the past, as befits the notoriously traditional character of Chinese ritual art. Presuming that these cylinder discs fulfilled the function just suggested, the theory set forth in this paper is further solidified by China's official and unofficial archaeology, which supplements the disc-shape. However, the Shang date of the second type requires supporting arguments.

Laufer was aware of the archaic character of the jade type under discussion. In his second consideration of it, he coupled it with the term "Chou", this being as far as one dared to go back at the time he was writing (Laufer, 'Archaic Chinese Jades', loc. cit.). Shortly afterwards such jades began to appear on the art market with Shang labels, which designation in itself means little. The fine quality of the material and the perfection of the carving, in the cases where furrows are present, may be typical of the period ; they, however, are insufficient proof of such dating. Only the decoration itself gives the decisive clue and makes the same dating also reliable for some of the plain pieces. These concentric grooves occur frequently in the black pottery of Ch'eng Tzu yai (Academia Sinica, "Ch'eng Tzu yai", Nanking, 1934, pl. VIII) and were taken over by Shang ceramists (F. S. Drake, "Ancient Pottery from Shantung", 'Monumenta Serica', vol. IV. 1, pl. XXIII-XXV). For the pre-historic civilization that came into possession of the potter's wheel, they constitute a contiguous ornament, easily produced while the ware was turned. Being extensively used by the Shang potter, they offer themselves to the Shang jade carver as a traditional decor. Beath has shown that these furrows are even encountered in bronze-casting. He published a pottery cup "attached to the saucer" from a pre-historic site in Chekiang, the Southern deviation of the Ch'eng Tzu yai stage, and compared it with a similar bronze combination (St. B. Beath, "Black Pottery of the Liang chu site near Hangchow", 'The China Journal', vol. XXXI, 1, Dec. 1939, fig. 23 a-b). The latter displays two sets of incised double circles on the saucer. It was labelled Han, an attribution that was changed to Shang, when the same author re-published both

composite pairs (St. B. Beath, "Black Pottery Culture in Chekiang", 'Asia', January 1941, p. 49-50). Unfortunately, descriptions and illustrations do not permit one to select one of the two dates. They also fail to give information about the base and the rim of the saucers, thus making it inadvisable for the time being to inter-relate the pottery saucer and the jade cup-stand. The bronze of uncertain date has been quoted only because it carries the concentric furrows, a simplified version of a Neolithic and Shang ornament.

While bringing together Chinese epigraphical and archaeological material, pertaining to the ritual use of a cup-stand, and to its disc form, the cylindrical part of the illustrated example so far had to be disregarded. This aspect can, however, be traced among the ancient civilizations of the Near East and of Europe, which, by the same token, furnish proof for the existence of such objects outside of China.

At first, one finds only the disc. Childe extracted information from excavation-reports of the al 'Ubaid stage, as the Neolithic bottom-layer of Mesopotamia is called, according to which pottery discs are used as "ring stands for tumblers and dishes" (V. G. Childe, 'New Light on the Most Ancient East,' London, 1935, p. 143). A functional explanation of their existence can be deduced from the fact that many early pottery shapes of the West have pointed or rounded bottoms and are thus in need of a stabilizing device. Vinca in Yugoslavia, one of the earliest Neolithic sites on the Balkans, contributes "stone bracelets with a triangular cross-section, considered as vase-supports by the discoverer" (V. G. Childe, 'The Danube in Pre-history,' Oxford 1929, p. 31) Finally, partly or totally vertical versions of the device from Western and Central Europe are discussed and illustrated by Hoernes and Menghin (M Hoernes and O. Menghin, " 'Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa", 3rd ed., Vienna, 1925, p. 260). They mention "cylindrical or conical supports, topped by a ring or bowl-shaped enlargement which serves to hold the vessel, an elaboration of the simple pottery-ring, which was originally used for this purpose, and which is frequently found in pre-historic hearths". Here one meets at last with a tube, combined with a disc, although topped, not bisected, by it. It also emphasizes the vertical extension over the horizontal one. One rather late jade example

of such proportions is known from China also (Pope-Hennessy, op. cit, pl. XXXIX).

In the West, as in China, the cup-stand persisted far into the metal phases of culture. While digging up Hittite sites in Anatolia, Kocay found "round ring-shaped supports for pointed vessels" (H. Z. Kocay, "A Contribution to Central-Anatolian Pre-historic Ceramics", 'Artibus Asiae' X, 1, p. 40). Nearly a thousand years later, "a bronze-disc which served as a ring-stand for a lost vessel" was used in Bulgaria (B. D. Filow, 'Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien,' Sofia, 1934, p. 139, fig. 167, 5)

As a result of these examples chosen at random, it is possible to set forth a world-wide distribution of the cup-stand. This does not necessarily imply contact or migration, because early civilizations are known to have in common many objects of material culture and many symbols. It would also be futile to try to establish a time-sequence from the functional usage to the ritual significance of the object. Coomaraswamy demonstrated time and again that practical usefulness and symbolic values are inextricably interwoven.

As an object of distinction. the cup-stand follows the glorification of a spherical receptacle, exemplified by Buddha's Begging Bowl, the Holy Grail and the Chalice of the Eucharist. The last one originated with an elongated stem, pertinent for an advanced metal-culture. But long before the discovery of metal something was needed to elevate a consecrated container of food or drink above the ground or its own base. The earliest form chosen for such purpose was a disc. If one chooses to call it an ornament, this can be done only in the sense given to this term by Coomaraswamy, namely as something to "glorify" and to "magnify" (A. C. Coomaraswamy, 'Figures of Speech and Figures of Thought,' London 1946, p 89). With or without an open centre, such a circular plate was fit for many uses and carried varied symbolic connotations, so that Laufer's first interpretation of the jade as an axle-end and Loehr's allusion to the Chinese symbol of Heaven are justifiable.

As in the West, the shape also survived a long time in China. It can be assumed that only the finely grooved or the delicately cut cup-

stands are of Shang date. They were followed by Early Western Chou objects of rougher make, always devoid of decoration. Jade-collections abound in examples illustrating this second stage, although the difference is not easily recognized through illustration. Such an evolution is in line with the stylistic sequence traced among early Chinese bronzes.

No specimen of the cup-stand from the Middle and Late Eastern Chou periods has yet been identified. But the resurgence of the type during Han is proved by finds from across the Southern Chinese border. These Han discs differ from preceding examples mainly by the short, rounded projections on both sides of the central cut-out, a technique which affects not only the disc, but all ring-shapes (V. Goloubew, "L'Age du Bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam", 'Bulletin de 1' Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-orient', vol. XXIX, Hanoi 1930, pl. XIII a).

It is to this group and period that the examples published by Laufer in 1912 and by Pope-Hennessy in 1923 belong. However, the original shape of the cup-stand was well enough remembered during Han times to influence the formation of a one piece pottery bowl with disc (R. L. Hobson, 'The G. Eumorfopoulos Collection, Catalogue of Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain', vol. I, London 1925, pl. XIII, No. 13). During the following periods of Chinese ceramic art, the disc becomes a saucer with concave rim, set on a tall and frequently elaborate stand, but still with the former bisecting the latter. Although these modest potteries find their way only accidentally into publications, at least two are known from T'ang times (Hobson, op. cit., pl. LXXI, No. 451 and pl LXXII, No. 490). Sung examples are quite numerous and their stands are occasionally provided with a short plain upper cylinder, into which the cup fits (Hobson, op. cit. vol. II, pl. L, No. B173 and pl. LXIV, No. B256). Korea carries the bisected pottery cup-stand still further (A Eckardt, 'A History of Korean Art,' London, 1929, pl. CXVIII, fig. 376 and pl. CXXXVI, fig. 423).

With these last references to Chinese cup-stands, this study returns to the art of the potter, which provided the prototype for the Shang jade. Prehistory had initiated the use of this ceremonial object. When it was rendered in the material which China considered the most precious, jade, it retained the original shape and decoration of its pottery model, the

reason being, as Coomaraswamy remarked, that "in a craft like that of pottery, now so little valued, but which once, as being the oldest of arts, enjoyed the highest favour, we should expect to and do indeed meet with forms and symbols of a plane other than that of the field of architecture and sculpture" (Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 254).

ILLUSTRATION, p. 77:

Cup-stand tan jade Shang period.
Diameter : 4½ inches
Height : ½ „
Collection : S. H. Minkenhof, New York.

THE BUDDHIST CAVE OF LONAD

by R. V, LEYDEN

The village of Lonad is situated north of the Uhlas River a few miles from Kalyan.[1] Lonad itself and surroundings are full of antiquities belonging to the later medieval period.[2] About a mile north of Lonad, a small Vihāra cave is excavated in the side of a low hill facing west over a wooded valley which, in spite of its smaller dimensions, is some what reminiscent of the Ajanta gorge.[3] The cave is 150 feet up and almost entirely obscured by masses of fallen stone and shrubs. The inside verandah is free of debris while the inner hall is usually more than ankle deep in water and slimy mud.

The inside of the cave was never finished. The outer porch has fallen and without its protection, the few sculptured panels have suffered extensively by atmospherics. The inside verandah is about 45' long and is screened off from the outside by four pillars and two pilasters The two outer pillars are of a plain square type ; the two inner pillars are of a peculiar shape (only one is still standing). Over a square and low base rises a double 'cushion' capital. The 'cushions' are square, not round,

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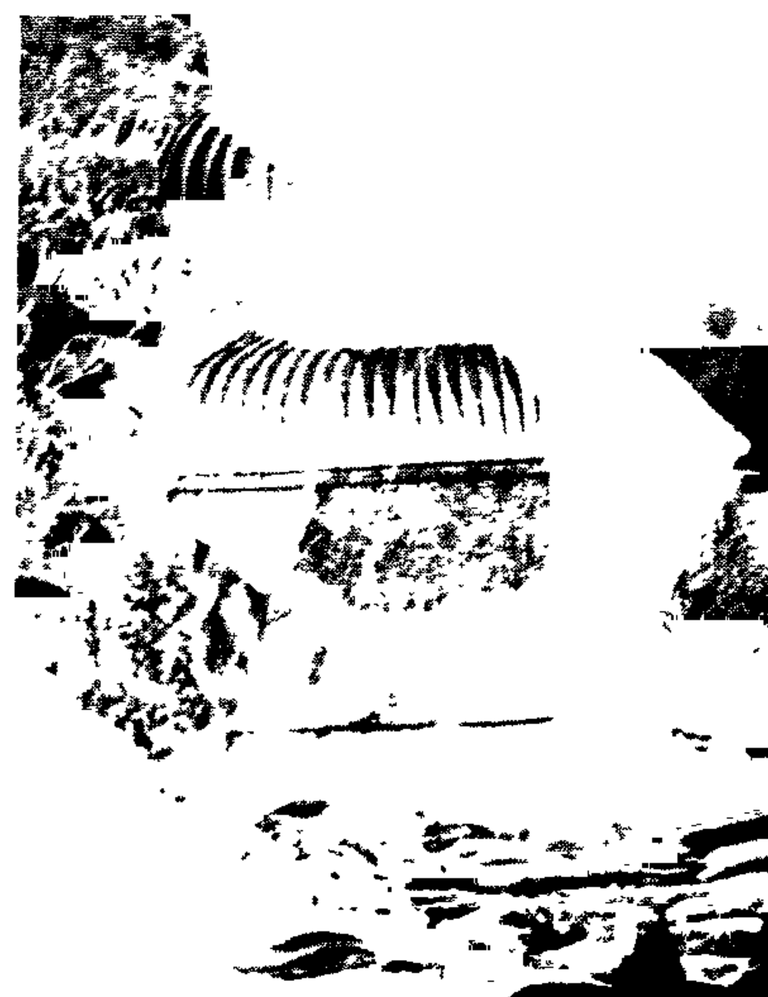
1. The visitor should follow the Bhivandi Road from Kalyan and before reaching the bridge turn into a cart track on his right where he will soon see three Towers of Silence, two of which date back to the 16th and 18th centuries. The track leads to the ferry across the river and continues on the other side through the hamlet Chaudarpada to Lonad.

2. The Rāmeśvara Temple of Lonad belongs to the Deccan style of the 11th or 12th century. A Śiva-Pārvatī image belonging to the same period is found in a wayside temple at Chaudarpada. Three hundred feet east of this temple is a land-grant stone dated A. D. 1239 (Śaka 1161). Several mounds in the surrounding fields hide the remnants of temples and other buildings.

3. The cave is accurately described in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, part III, 1882, p 211. ff. It is also mentioned in the Register of Ancient Monuments, Arch. Survey of India, but has, to my knowledge, never been published with illustrations.



3



2

but fluted like those in Elephanta, Badami, Ellora and other places. The total height of the pillar is 7′7½″. Brackets spring from each pillar or pilaster. The brackets are ribbed and decorated with a centre band carved with flower patterns very similar to those in Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad. The shape of the pillars is peculiar and does not compare with any others found in Western Indian cave temples (Fig. 2). In spite of their squat proportions and massiveness, they are elegant in their plasticity by which they appear to cushion the heavy load of the roof. The change from the plain square shape below, to the swelling cushion-capital forms in the centre, gives rhythmical organization to the front of the cave. Three doors lead to the inner hall. The two side doors have simple recessed door frames with crudely carved Dvārapālas at the foot of the jambs. The centre door is framed by two slim pillars with the 'cushion' and lotus capital familiar from the paintings in Ajanta. They carry a lintel decorated with 'caitya' windows. Against the jambs are placed two stone stools consisting of circular seats carried by plump, curly-wigged 'Gaṇas'. Nothing similar is known to me in other caves of Western India.

The hall inside measures about 19′ by 47′ and is plain and undecorated. At the back are the beginnings of two cell entrances and an unfinished shrine in which are placed some crude stones and images worshipped by the villagers.

The cave is decorated with a long frieze of small carved panels in the outer fallen porch just under the roof, and with a large sculptural panel at the south end of the porch which is the centre of attraction.

The frieze : The carvings run along the whole length of the verandah. They are subdivided into panels 10″ high and 25″ to 35″ long. The carving is extremely lively and in some panels full of movement. Considerable portions are destroyed. The various panels seem to illustrate Jātakas but most are of such general nature that identification is difficult. The second and third panel from the north may be telling the story of Buddha subduing the ferocious elephant. The other panels show court scenes, processions of chariots and horses, teaching scenes featuring bearded ascetics and their disciples. The last three panels on the south end show a queen lying on a couch attended by maids,

Buddha (?) sitting in "European fashion" surrounded by what looks like threatening hosts (temptation ?) and a full bellied king and his queen on their throne with their courtiers and women.

The large panel : The large sculptural panel on the south end of the outer verandah has been exposed to rain and sun for countless years. The carving has suffered and all details such as the faces have been obliterated or blackened. However, enough is left to prove that the Lonad panel must be counted amongst the finest monuments of classical sculpture in Western India. The panel is about 4′ 11″ high and 7′ 8″ wide. The height of the female figure standing in the centre is 3′ 5″. The panel is framed by pilasters which support 'makaras'. A scroll issuing from the mouth of the monsters forms the upper border of the panel. The pilaster and 'makara' on the right have been obliterated.

The carving shows a picturesque court scene with a prince surrounded by his courtesans, friends and ministers. The prince who has a soft, full body sits comfortably on his throne, one leg raised up and supported by a sling of his belt, the other resting in the lap of a small serving woman who seems to massage his foot. In front of the throne stands a vessel which might be a spittoon. The king's head is inclined towards the chowri bearer on the left whom his hand seems to be caressing. On the right a slender woman carries the king's sword. Further to the right is a group of two men, one leaning on the other. The portion above them is completely destroyed.

On the left is a pair of ministers engaged in serious discussion. Their bodies seem to be bare except for loin cloths and looped belts. They have their hair done in elaborate curls. Especially the right figure of this group, the one next to the king, is remarkable for its natural and animated pose (Fig. 4)

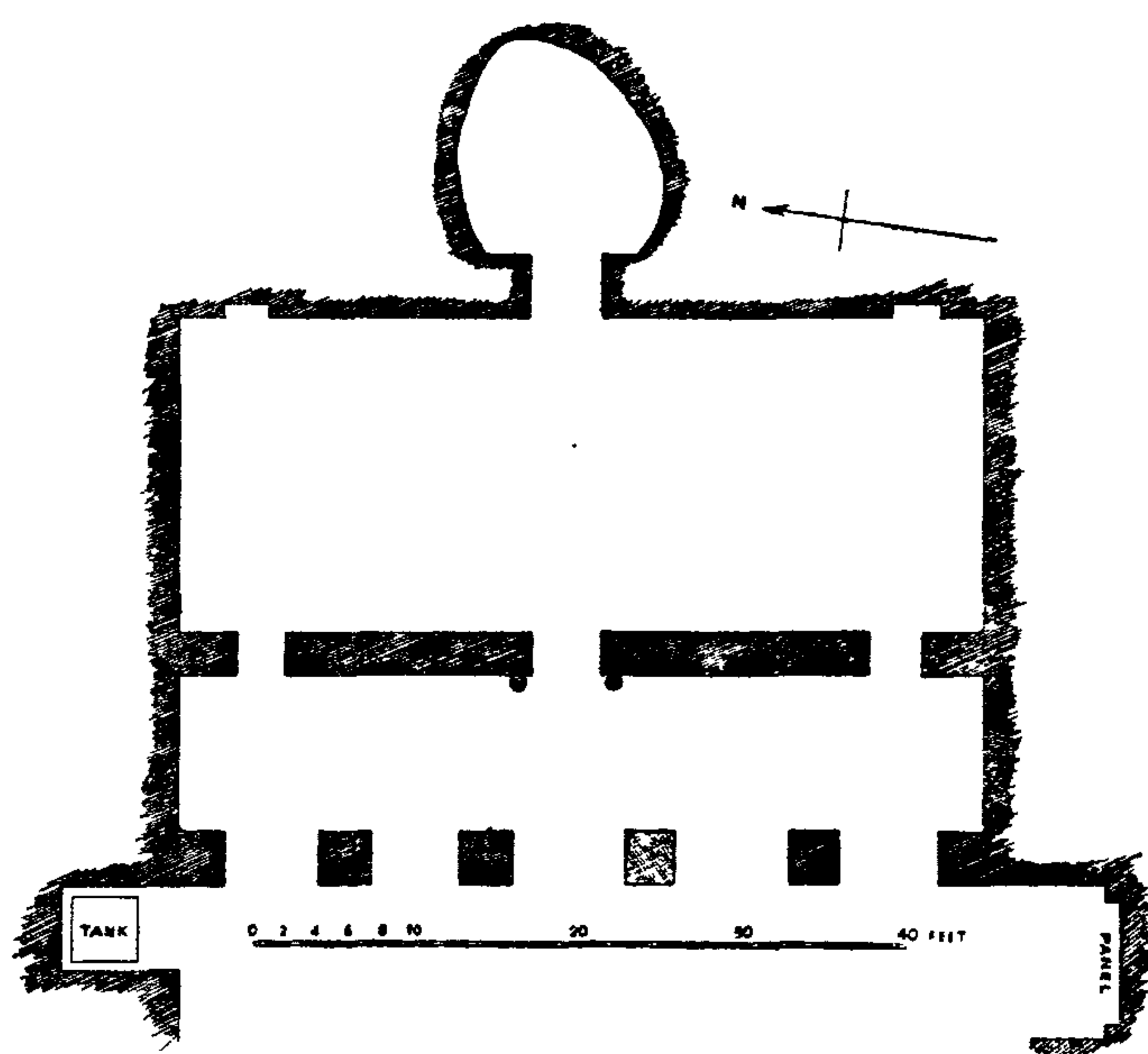
Above this group (Fig. 5) and surrounding the prince are seven or eight maids. Of most of them only the heads can be seen with ornate, wheel-like coiffures on top or at the back of their heads, decorated with ribbands. They are seen to carry vessels, whisks and instruments of the king's toilet. Two or three hold one finger over their lips which may be a sign of respect. In the extreme left stands a man with his hand on the shoulder of one of the girls.



4



5



Ground plan of Lonad Cave

Fig. 1.

The panel is worked in bas-relief. The bodies must have had, in their original state, the soft, pliable modelling which invites touching and which gives lightness and warmth, in spite of the compactness and solidity of form. Poses and gestures have been keenly observed. They give to the whole group an atmosphere of natural ease, comfort and relaxation although it is tightly composed and full of corresponding rhythms. Follow the line from the arms of the ministers on the left through the king's belt-loop, and his arm to the shoulders of the standing girl sword-bearer, and down her arm to the group on the right—a continuous rhythmic flow with its marked cadences.

The heads of the girls in the background surround the king like the blossoms of a bouquet of flowers. The arrangement betrays the origin of or the inspiration for this panel in several similar scenes painted in cave 17 in Ajanta. The composition is pictorial, not really plastic and has little in common with the dramatic rock sculptures of the Brahmanical caves in Western India,[1] or even with the exuberant sculpture of the Buddhist caves of Aurangabad which may be contemporary.

1. Cf. however the affinity of the sculptural context, in Elephanta (Fig. 3) and Lonad (Figs. 4 and 5).

In the absence of inscriptions, the dating of the Lonad cave is conjectural. The sculptures, in their easy elegance, seem to ask for a date contemporary with caves 1 and 2, or even 16 and 17, in Ajanta, i. e. the sixth or seventh century. On the other hand, the fluted cushion capital of the pillars points to a later age, possibly the first half of the eighth century.

The small Vihāra cave of Lonad was, it seems, an intermediate station on the long pilgrim and trade route which led from Sopara via Kanheri and the other Buddhist monasteries on Salsette island to the Nanaghat pass and on to the higher Deccan.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Plan of Lonad Cave.
2. Lonad Cave, inner verandah with cushion-capital pillar and square pillar.
3. Elephanta, Kalyāṇasundara mūrti ; detail.
4. Lonad Cave, sculpture panel at south-end of outer verandah ; detail : conversing ministers.
5. Detail, group of men and women, immediately above the ministers.

TWO ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART

by MONOTOSH MOOKERJEE

Recently the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, has acquired by purchase an illuminated Nepalese manuscript (No. T. 1055) containing several sacred texts pertaining to the worship of the goddesses of the Pañcharakshā Maṇḍala.[1] They are :

1. Mahāsāhasrapramarddanī-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (Fol. 1-18) ;
2. Mahāmāyurī Vidyā (Fol. 18-40) ;
3. Mahāsītavatī-nāma Mahāvidyā (Fol. 40-41) ;
4. Mahāpratisarā Mahāvidyā (Fol. 42-57) ; and
5. Mahāmantrānusārinī Mahāvidyā (Fol. 57-59).

These goddesses known as Mahāvidyās form a group of five and are collectively known as the Pañcharakshā Maṇḍala. According to the colophon at the end, the manuscript was copied in (Newari) Samvat 225, i. e. 1105 A. D., during the reign of Sīhadeva, King of Nepal. The colophon is important as it throws a new light on the history of Nepal during the first half of the twelfth century A. D. (The history of the period is rather vague and uncertain, and this colophon furnishes us with an indubitable historical fact which has remained unknown up till now). The manuscript is written on some kind of paper, the composition of which has to be investigated. The use of paper at so early a date is unknown and doubts may be entertained regarding the genuineness of the date given in the manuscript. The date. however, has been given

1. I am grateful to the autorities of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, for lending me the use of the Manuscripts and to Sj. S. K. Saraswati of the Fine Arts Department, University of Calcutta for his kind assistance. Prof. Kramrisch drew my attention to the earliest instance of the use of paper (Ms. A) in India, known as yet.

unequivocally and leaves no doubt as to its being the date of the copy. A palaeographical examination of the letters also corroborates the genuineness of the date. Bendall has given a chart of the letters and numerals used in the Nepalese manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University Library. It will be found that the figure numerals in the manuscript under examination for 200, 20 and 5 exactly correspond to those in the Cambridge manuscript dated in the 11th and 12 centuries A. D. The figure for 200, as given in our manuscript, is not known after the 12th century A. D., and that for 20 undergoes a radical change in form in the 13th. The figure for 5, as it is in our manuscript, was current in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D., and survives, in stray cases till the early part of the 13th after which the form is greatly modified. As for other letters it will be found that they have a close resemblance to those of the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. A student of palaeography is aware that the 13th century generally, and in some specific cases even the 12th, bring in significant changes and modifications in the forms of the Newari letters but such modified forms are totally absent in our manuscript. From a close resemblance of the palaeography of this manuscript with those of the 11th and 12th century A. D. there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the date given in the manuscript. Copied in 1125 A. D. this is perhaps the earliest instance of the use of paper in India. The manuscript antedates the earliest known paper manuscript by at least 300 years. In this manuscript (specified here as Ms. A.) there are ten illuminations, the first and the last on the inside of the two covers and the rest on the folios themselves. The size of these illuminations is 2¼″ x 3½″.

(1) The front cover shows a god of yellow complexion standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose within a circle of flames. Of the two hands, the right is shown in 'varada-mudrā' and the left holds a lotus with a manuscript over it. The figure is heavily bejewelled with anklets, bracelets, armlets, necklace, earrings, and an elaborate 'ratna-mukuṭa' crowns the head. The god wears a red-coloured 'dhoti' with one end hanging down between the legs A scarf of the same colour passes round the body with the ends hanging down from the left arm. The upper part of the body is entirely bare.



(2) The illumination on the first folio represents the Buddha seated in 'vajra-paryaṅka' on a double lotus throne with a highly elaborated back with flame borders. The upper part of this throne shows two swans with foliage like plumes and a 'kīrtimukha' at the top with serpents issuing from its mouth. In this and in the next eight illuminations a tree with green foliage is shown behind the back of every throne. The figure wears a red garment, covering the whole body. The hands are placed near the breast in 'dharmachakrapravartana mudrā' symbolising the first sermon at Sarnath. Behind the figure of the Buddha there is a green cushion with designs resembling embroidered ones.

(3) The next illumination (Fol. 2b) shows a goddess, deep blue in colour, seated on a cushion upon a lotus in 'lalitāsana' within a flame background. She has four heads, the additional heads being white, yellow and green in colour. Each of the heads has three round eyes with fierce looks and the hair is shown as rising upwards in flame-like curls. The goddess wears a cloth, purplish in colour, the upper portion of the body being bare. She has eight hands of which the lowest right is placed on the thigh with a 'vajra' on the palm ; the other right hands hold an 'aṅkuśa' (elephant goad), an arrow, and brandish a sword. The main left hand is in 'tarjanī' pose, while the other left hands hold an axe, a bow, and a lotus with an uncertain object (perhaps a jewel) on it. The goddess wears the usual ornaments, namely, anklets, armlets, bangles, bracelets, neck-chains, and earrings (Pl. facing p. 91).

(4) Next we have the representation of a three-headed goddess (Fol. 18b) yellow in colour, seated in 'vajra-paryaṅka' on a cushion supported on a lotus. The background is red with white borders. Of the additional heads, the right one is blue, and the left is red. All the heads have three eyes each, and bear a pleasant mien. Of the eight hands the main pair shows 'varada' in the left and a cup with the effigy of a figure on it on the right. The additional left hands hold from below a waterpot, a 'chakra' and a sword, while the other right hands bear the tail of a peacock, a pot with a four-pronged object and a bunch of banners being jewels respectively in the same order. The goddess wears the usual ornaments and a highly bejewelled crown.

(5) On Fol. 19a may be seen a goddess, green in colour and with

three heads and six hands, seated as above. The additional head to the right is white, and that to the left red. All the heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands shows 'vyākhyāna' in the right, and 'tarjanī' in the left, while the additional hands to the right bear 'vajra' and arrow, and those to the left a staff and an arrow in the same order. The ornaments and crown are similar to above.

(6) We have next (Fol. 40b) a representation of a three-headed and eight-handed goddess, white in colour, seated crosslegged, as above. The additional head to the right is dark blue, and that to the left is light yellow. All the heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands is held near the breast, the right damaged and the left in 'tarjanī-mudrā'. The additional hands to the right from below bear 'vajra', arrow, and sword, while those to the left, 'triśūla', bow and an axe. The ornaments and crown are as above.

(7) The white-coloured three-headed goddess on folio 41a has twelve hands. The additional head to the right is blue, and that to the left is red. All the three heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands is in 'dharmachakra-pravartana mudrā. Another pair of hands is shown in 'samādhimudrā'. The additional right hands from below have 'varada, abhaya,vajra' and arrow, while the left hands bear 'tarjanī' pose. water vase with flowers, a crest with a jewel on it and a bow in the same order. The ornaments and the crown are the same as above.

(8) On folio 59b is illustrated a group of three figures, each standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose with two hands and with a halo round the head. In the background is a tree with its foliage spreading upwards behind the heads. The central figure is that of a god, yellow in colour. The right hand exhibits 'vyākhyāna mudrā' and the left holds a flower by the stalk with a water-pot on it. The hair is tucked up in 'jaṭāmukuṭa' in front of which may be seen the representation of a 'stūpa'. A deer skin is seen hanging down from the left shoulder. The god wears a red cloth (the upper portion of the body is bare), and the usual ornaments. The figure to the right is that of a white-coloured god. The right hand is shown in 'jñāna mudrā' and the left holds a lotus by the stalk. Over the head is the 'jaṭāmukuṭa' with 'purīta'-shaped ornaments. The dress

and ornaments are as above. The figure to the left is brownish in colour. The right hand is in 'jñāna mudrā' while the left holds a blue water lily. The hair is raised up over the head with jewelled clasps in front and the sides. Dress and ornaments are as above. What, however, is interesting is that each of the gods wears different types of 'kuṇḍalas' or earrings (Pl. X).

(9) On the next folio (Fol. 60a) may be seen a four-handed goddess, reddish in colour, seated cross-legged on a lotus. The main pair of hands are in 'dharmachakrapravartanamudrā'. The upper right hand holds a rosary and the corresponding left a lotus over which is placed a manuscript. She wears a red cloth, and the upper part of the body is bare, except for an 'uttarīya' the ends of which are seen passing round the arms of the main pair of hands. The background is white edged with red flames. She wears all kinds of ornaments and a highly elaborated crown.

(10) On the inside of the back cover is a six-handed god, yellowish in colour, standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose. The right hands, from below exhibit 'varada', a rosary, and 'namaskāra mudrā'. The left hands hold from below a lotus by the stalk, a 'ghaṭa', and a three-pronged staff. The figure wears a dhoti and usual ornaments ; the upper part of the body is bare. The figure of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha is inset in front in the 'jaṭāmukuṭa'. The background is blue, edged with yellowish flames (Pl XI).

In the same Museum there is another manuscript (No. T. 140, here designated as Ms. "B") of 'Pañcharakshā' copied during the reign of Śivadeva, perhaps identical with a king of the same name for whom we have the dates 239 and 240 (1119 and 1120 A. D.) in two manuscripts from Nepal. On the inside of the front cover may be seen the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, beginning with Ratnasambhava from left, flanked on either side by the figures of two devotees. On the back cover are seen the figures of the eight planets, Ketu, the ninth, being left out. Within the manuscript there are the representations of the five goddesses, evidently those of the 'Pañcharakshā maṇḍala'. The illuminations in this manuscript are much damaged, and they also lack the artistic quality of those of Ms. "A". From the standpoint of iconography each of the five goddesses in Ms. "B". has a general resemblance with her counterpart in Ms. "A". and need not be described in detail. The variations when there

are any, will be referred to in the following section dealing with the iconography of the figures represented.

The goddesses of the 'Pañcharakshā' group are highly popular among the Buddhist worshippers, and it is for this that a fairly large number of 'Pañcharakshā' manuscripts with illustrations now survive[1]. The deities of the Pañcharakshā maṇḍala are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusārinī, Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāsītavatī. According to the 'Sādhanamālā' the worship of these five goddesses grants long life, protects kingdoms, and secures immunity from evil spirits, diseases and from all dangers that befall humanity. The manuscripts of the work usually contain representations of these five divinities occasionally with illustrations of some more divinities like the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā, etc. Manuscript "A" of this paper has five more illustrations in addition to the five goddesses of the Maṇḍala whereas Manuscript "B", besides the illustrations in the two covers has the usual group of five only. According to the Sādhanamālā, Mahāpratisarā is to be placed in the middle of the 'maṇḍala' with the other goddesses surrounding her on four sides; Mahāsāhasrapramardanī to the east, Mahāmāyūrī to the south, Mahāmantrānusārinī to the west, and Mahāsītavatī to the north. In the manuscripts of 'Pañcharakshā' this order is usually followed. Neither of the two manuscripts, under notice, follows, however, the above order. In our discussion of the iconography of the goddesses, as represented in our manuscripts, the order of the Sādhanamālā is being followed for the sake of convenience.

MAHĀPRATISARĀ : (Ms. A. Fol. 40b ; Ms. B. Fol. 1b).

In Manuscript "A" the illustration of the goddess (No. 6 of the above description) generally corresponds to the Sādhana with, however, very slight variations. Of the eight attributes, 'chakra, vajra', arrow

1. The most important of these is the Cambridge University manuscript (Add. 1688) —copied in the 14th year of King Nayapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty who is to be placed in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.—i. e. approximately half a century older than Ms. A. under notice. It is copiously illustrated, but unfortunately the illustrations which are likely to help greatly in the study of Buddhist iconography and the style of miniature painting in Eastern India, have not received the attention that is due to them



and sword in the right hands and 'vajrapāśa, triśūla', bow and axe in the left, six are clearly recognisable in the present illustration, in the order as given in the Sādhana. The main pair of hands are held near the breast. The right held probably a 'chakra', which however, has peeled off. The left is shown in a pose resembling 'tarjanī mudrā' with a band round the wrist which may stand for the 'pāśa'. The goddess sits in 'vajraparyaṅka', and of the four faces, three are visible in the picture ; but there is some slight variation in the disposition of the colour of the different heads. The additional right head, according to the Sādhana, should be blue, the left red, and the back one yellow. In the illustration of the goddess in manuscript "A", the left head is yellow instead of being red ; while in manuscript "B", the right and left heads are red and blue respectively. The Sādhana also enjoins that the foliage of the Bodhi tree decked with various flowers and fruits should be shown over the head of the goddess. The goddess in Manuscript "A" shows this feature which however, is absent in Manuscript "B".

MAHĀSĀHASRAPRAMARDANĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 2b ; Ms. B. Fol. 21b).

The illustration of the goddess in manuscript "A" (No. 3, above ; Pl. IX) closely resembles the Sādhana in every detail. The blue complexion, the terrific look, with hair rising up in flames, contorted brows and canine teeth, the background of burning flames, the 'lalita' attitude ; the tree over the head of the goddess, the various ornaments and the attributes closely correspond to the description of the Sādhana. The goddess in manuscript "B", however, is more summarily treated and does not show the fierce mien of the goddess as enjoined in the Sādhana. Further, the goddess sits in 'vajraparyaṅka', instead of in 'lalitāsana' and has ten hands, the attributes that are recognised closely tallying with those of the Sādhana.

MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 18b ; Ms. B. Fol. 45b).

The representation of the goddess in manuscript "A" (No. 4 of the above description) closely corresponds to the description of the Sādhana. The yellow complexion of the goddess, the number of

additional heads and their colours and the Aśoka tree over the head of the goddess are as in the Sādhana. In the right hands are seen the 'varada', the 'ratnaghaṭa, chakra' and 'khaḍga', as in the Sādhana. The attributes in the left hand, however, call for some comment. The main left hand shows a bowl with the effigy of a figure on it, which may stand for 'patropari bhikshu' (a monk on a bowl) of the text. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya is inclined to take the text as wrong on the basis of an illustration which he reproduces and in which the object on the bowl, according to him, is a fruit. The identification of that object is, however, not beyond doubt, and when in the present illustration it distinctly shows a figure with hair tucked up that may stand for a 'bhikshu', the correctness of the text may clearly be set forth. The second left hand holds the tail of a peacock ; on the third is seen a pot with a four-pronged object ('viśvavajra') over it. And on the fourth is seen a cluster of crests with jewels inset ('ratnadhvaja'). According to the text of the Sādhana, the third hand should a hold a 'viśvavajra' over a bell ('ghaṇṭopariviśvavajraṃ'). In both the illustrations under notice as well as the illustration reproduced by Bhattacharyya the object held in the third left hand is clearly a pot ('ghaṭa') and not a bell ('ghaṇṭā') ; and on the basis of these it appears that the proper reading of the text should be 'ghaṭopariviśvavajram' ('viśvavajra' over a pot) and not 'ghaṇṭopari visvavajram'. The illustration in Manuscript "B" is slightly different in having ten hands and the bowl held in the left hand being empty.

MAHĀMANTRĀNUSĀRINĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 41a ; Ms. B. Fol. 80b)

The illustration of the goddesses in manuscript "A" (No. 7. of the above description) tallies with the description of the Sādhana except in the fact that the attributes in the fourth and sixth left hands are reversed. That in the manuscript "B" is seriously damaged ; though summarily treated, it corresponds to the Sādhana as far as the different features and attributes can be recognised.

MAHĀSĪTAVATĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 19a ; Ms. B. Fol. 77b)

The goddesses in Manuscript "A" (No. 5 of the above description) resembles the description of the Sādhana except in one or two details.

The first right hand exhibits the 'vyākhyāna mudrā' instead of 'abhaya' as prescribed by the Sādhana, and the attributes in the second and third left hands are reversed. The bow placed in the third left hand is in accord with the arrow placed in the third right hand, and makes for artistic symmetry. The illustration of the goddess in manuscript "B" has the additional right head in light blue, instead of white as enjoined by the Sādhana.

Manuscript "A" contains five more illustrations in addition to those of the five goddesses. That on the front cover (No. 1 of our description) is Siddhaikavira, a form of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom. It should be observed in this connection that it is difficult to distinguish between this form of Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha if the parental Dhyānī Buddhas are not shown on the crests. In the present illustration in spite of the absence of the Dhyānī Buddha it is beyond any doubt because of the manuscript, placed over the lotus held in the left hand, which clearly indicates the association of the god with Mañjuśrī.

The illustration on Fol. 1b (No. 2 of our description) represents Buddha in the act of preaching his first sermon at Sarnath. The central figure of the group of three gods on the Fol. 59b (No. 8 ; Pl. X) may be identified with Maitreya, the future Buddha. This identificatian is clear not only because of the representation of the 'stūpa' on the 'jaṭāmukuṭa', but also on account of the white complexion and the flower Nāgakeśara held in the left hand. The 'vyākhyānamudrā' shown in the right hand, is not prescribed for Maitreya in any of the known Sādhanas, but that need not be a serious handicap to identification, as exposition of the law is also enjoined as one of his primary functions when his Kalpa would come. The figure to the right corresponds to the Sādhana of Lokanātha but the identification of the god to the left is uncertain at the present state of our knowledge.

The four-handed figure on Fol. 60a (No. 9 of our description) represents the goddess Prajñāpāramitā in the form in which she is said to have emanated from the five Dhyānī Buddhas collectively. According to the Sādhana she is to have a golden colour, the 'dharmachakrapravartana mudrā' in the main pair of hands and the blue water-lily with the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript over it in the additional left hand and 'abhaya'

in the additional right hands. The present illustration closely corresponds to the description of the Sādhana except in the fact that the present illustration shows the 'akshamālā' or rosary, instead of the 'abhaya' as in the Sādhana. Similar representations of the goddess are also met with in sculpture.

The illustration on the back cover (No. 10 of our description) represents a six-handed male divinity, which is not doubt a form of the god Avalokiteśvara, as we know from the effigy of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the matted chignon. Among the Sādhanas of Avalokiteśvara is described a six-handed form of the god known as the Sugatisandarśana. This particular form is to have six hands showing 'varada', 'abhaya' and rosary in the right hands and lotus, waterpot and 'tridaṇḍī' (i. e. a staff with three prongs) in the left. The complexion of the god is white. The illustration under notice corresponds to the above description except in some particulars. The colour of the god is a light yellowish tint, instead of white. The three left hands bear attributes as in the Sādhana but there is a discrepancy with regard to those in the right hand. The attributes in the two right hands correspond to those in the Sādhana but the third hand has the 'namaskāra mudrā' instead of the 'abhaya' of the Sādhana. Similar representations of Avalokiteśvara are also found in sculpture. The above discrepancies are, however, very minor and should not stand in the way of identifying it with Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara (Pl. XI).

The two manuscripts under note furnish us with valuable documents of miniature paintings of roughly the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. ; though apparently contemporary, they show a well-marked divergence in workmanship and artistic quality. The illuminations in manuscript "A" are finer in their compositional scheme, in execution and in the delineation of details. The lines, fluent and facile, have a charming rhythm, and the colouring is well-balanced. The trees in the background with their variegated foliage add life to the composition. A very rich effect has been given by such details as the elaborate ornaments, the crowns, the embroidered designs of the dress and the multicoloured 'prabhāmaṇḍala' edged with flame designs. The figures are extremely supple and graceful and endowed with an unusual



flexibility even when, according to the Sādhana, they assume the adamantine or 'vajraparyaṅka' attitude. In these respects the illustrations follow the general trend of the contemporary Eastern Indian tradition of manuscript painting. The illustrations in manuscript "B", however, are more summarily treated and are decidedly poorer in workmanship. The lines lack the fluency and rhythm of the former group. The contrast thus furnished by two almost contemporary works affords an interesting study.

ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY TEMPLES

by V. M. NARASIMHAN

Many theories are advanced and several changes in the evolution of civilization are cited to trace the origin of temples. Several epigraphical and archaeological records are put forward to give a link between origin and growth of the temples. But I am now taking up the cases of certain temples that are known to have grown up in the past ten decades and am tracing their origin and growth.

About thirty years back a few images lay in the midst of greenwood-trees in fields overgrown with nettle, prickly-pear and Karuvelam, in the village of Ariyakurichi, on a diversion from the road between Nattarasankottai to Kalayarkoil (Ramnad District). Large numbers of people were attracted by the deities especially the Amman (Devī) and large offerings seemed to have been pouring in steadily especially in return for appeals to redress differences with neighbours, the Amman playing the role of a judicial officer, composing differences and collecting dues. There was no shrine and the images had no protection except the shifting shade of the trees and the attention by the serpents which crawled between or sheltered under the huddled images. The devotees used to come at all hours of the day to make their offerings, which included sacrifices of goat ond fowl, a Pūjārī of the potter caste (Uvacha or Ocha caste) interceding in the ritual, that is offered in this part of the country to the Śakti-goddesses where the officiating priests are not versed in Sanskrit.

The special hold of this group of gods and goddesses on the devotees in the area round about was that they secured that justice was done to an aggrieved party. For instance, a person who felt that a difference had arisen between himself and a neighbour which ought not to have arisen

if his neighbour had been reasonable, presented himself before this divine group and made a small offering by way of earnest and vowed that if the dispute came to be settled and friendly relations established with his neighbour a special fee would be paid. If he wanted to make sure that his representation was borne in mind, he reduced his grievance to writing preferably in the form of a plaint and strung it to a date-palm that stood some yards off; within about six months the prayer was believed to take effect. A minor deity (Karuppan, the black one) located in a tiny shrine under a dwarfish tree nearby was believed to play the part of process-server.

A creditor who had money to realise from a debtor, who he knew could pay but would not, would approach the deity, make a preliminary offering, represent his case and promise one-half of such amount as might be realised. He would then fasten to this date-palm a scroll containing full particulars of the parties, the claim and the state of accounts. Or, a woman who had been unlucky enough to lose a gold chain or a silver plate, would lay down a small sum by way of earnest, cry out the particulars of her losses in the presence and the hearing of the Divinities and would solemnly undertake to come down with an offering of a half of what might be recovered.

About ten years back, proceedings were started in the law courts and ultimately a scheme of administration was framed, as a result of which the income was ensured almost in its entirety to the Devasthānam and the priests reduced to the role of mere ministrants at the ritual. A set of trustees came into existence and with the large income which came into their hands they have raised a temple which has so far cost about Rs. 75,000/- besides purchasing a large tract of arable land round about for the support of the Devasthānam. The two principal images along with a few of the attendant deities, which were practically lying huddled under the trees, were set up in well-built shrines,—the Devī (Kaliyamman) inhabiting a shrine of stone the exterior surface of which is polished almost in imitation of the Mauryan polish well-known to archaeologists and the shrine of the Deva (Ayyanar or Sasta) not a tithe so grand, stands about 60 feet off facing the other shrine.

The ritual has now deteriorated, the priests have no great interest

in the performance of the rituals, they being paid only a small fraction of the monthly income, but the devotion of the worshippers makes up for the decay in the performance of the ritual even though serpents are no longer crawling about the images. The offerings made to the deities are ever grander and larger as a definite scale of expenditure has now been fixed and the result is that while the mantras and the tantras have receded into the background, the pomp and ceremony of cooked offerings made at stated hours have now come to stay. Reformist tendencies have been at work so that animal sacrifices are not permitted to be made within the 'prākāra'. The formalities in regard to the functioning of the deity as a Court of Conciliation have now been crystallized into a system. The need for keeping accounts of the promises made and the preliminary offerings that accompanied the promises, as that formal audit might be satisfied, and the need for the trustees impressing the devotees that their prayers will be constantly brought to the attention of the Devī till they are granted have been responsible for the introduction of the complication of the processes of Court. It is a curious sight to see the defunct date-palm wearing a garland strung of palm-leaves on which plaints have been engrossed and "copy papers" bearing writing and the marks of Court seals indicating that execution petitions in the Civil Courts of the country have not borne fruit, and on which execution petitions have been indited But in spite of all this, the devotees do not seem quite satisfied as they were in the past when the images lay under the trees.

II

In the village of Ayyampalayam, Palladam Taluk, Coimbatore District, about 4½ miles to the North-east of the Somanur Railway station and led to by a blind road-track is situated a small shrine of quite recent origin to a person who lived in the village

From what I was able to gather locally, it appears that about a hundred years back a man who was engaged in cultivating plantains was greatly skilled in the Mantras for curing both the immediate and the remote effects of bites of poisonous vermin like snakes, scorpions and insects, that his death took place at the foot of an Arasu tree beside an ant-hill, and that for some time after his death his spirit used to frequent

the neighbourhood of the tree and ant-hill and beckon to passers-by suffering from the effects of poisonous bites and cure them The spot where the tree and the ant-hill stood having thus risen to importance as a spot sanctified by associations with the Valaitottattu Aiyan (He of the Plantain tope), a Liṅga appears to have been placed at the foot of the tree to mark the spot where his death was believed to have taken place and worship was offered to the tree, the ant-hill and the Liṅga. It is the earth that is thrown up as the ant-hill that seems to have been given as 'prasāda' to those afflicted with poisonous bites for being applied to the spot where the sting or the bite was inflicted. The descendants of Valaitottattu Aiyan appear to have turned into the Pūjāris of the shrine officiating as such hereditarily. The enquiries that I made, made it clear that there was no tradition of Valaitottattu-Aiyan having been buried under the tree.

Within a decade back the shrine appears to have continued merely as an aggregate of tree, ant-hill and Liṅga, perhaps protected by a compound wall of brick. Within the last few years, however, a large area round about was acquired and various structures by way of shrines Maṇḍapa, kitchen, rest-houses have been built and amenities for pilgrims provided.

Within the past five or six years the ant-hill appears to have disappeared and earth taken from the spot where it stood is being distributed as 'prasādam'. The Nāga stones and a Vinayaka appear to have been installed in the south-west corner of the precincts round the tree within the past few years and a small shrine to Vinayaka appears to have been raised about 7 or 8 years back some distance to the south-east of the tree, the image being said to have belonged to the family of Valaitottattu-Aiyan. A Nandī is found placed about 70 feet to the east of the tree and the Liṅga. The original tree having withered during the past few years, a stump to the height of about 8 feet has been retained and the rest has been sawed off, but a new plant of some kind is now rising from some crevice in the top of the stump.

It may be noted that the eastern face of the stump is flattish and that if a line is drawn from the centre of the Liṅga so as to strike this face at right angles, the line runs almost due east and just misses the Nandī

about 70 feet off and also misses some-what a pair of horses in brick-work posted 70 feet farther east.

III

In the village of Mandarthi, Udipi Taluk, South Kanara District, about 14 miles to the north of Udipi stands a temple to Śrī Durgā Parameśvarī on a slope of a series of undulations in hilly country to reach which we have to pass a thick jungle in which serpents crawl and panthers range.

The temple serves a special purpose in the locality. The deity also is believed to be willing to collect all outstandings due to her devotees.

It is surprising that the real character of the temple was not known even to the Archakas of the temple who appear to have been attached to it for generations and should have had access to every recess of the 'sanctum sanctorum' which in this temple is divided into an eastern and western half and that the eastern half accommodates in the middle a seated stone image of Durgā with a shelf to the rear with the Nava Durgās ranged on it in two tiers. The shelf and the nine heads serve as a sort of screen obscuring practically the whole of the western half, so much so that a worshipper who pays his obeisance to the Durgā and the Nava Durgās would not easily notice what stands behind. If his eyes are keen and he is curiously minded, he would notice,—only with effort,—that there is a shrine further beyond and that it contains something peculiar. If he questions the Archakas, he would be told that the rear half is occupied by an ant-hill which, as is well known, is an object of adoration.

When I paid my devotions to the Durgā and was told of the Ant-hill, I desired to have fuller particulars of that special feature and to examine it for myself, but, as this was impossible in view of the rigidity with which in these parts the prohibition is enforced against others than Archakas entering the 'sanctum sanctorum' I had to incite the Archaka who served as my cicerone to examine the rear shrine with adequate care. After considerable persuasion the Archaka entered the rear half of the shrine with a light in his hand and it was only then that it was possible to have a good look at what had been assumed to be the ant-hill. I found that it loomed large, that it stood at the centre of the rear half

and that it was fenced in by railings on all the four sides, leaving a narrow strip between railing and wall to serve as a passage. The object in the centre, however, gave no indication of the conical shape of an ant-hill and betrayed no signs of the unevenness of surface, the coarseness of texture and the perforations, large and small, which characterise an ant-hill What is more, the top had all the appearance of a plane surface. I suggested therefore that the object should be tapped at lightly, though gently, as a test of its substance. On the Archaka dealing it a series of light taps, there arose sounds peculiar to timber and not the dull note emitted when an ant-hill is tapped. This emboldened the Archaka to attempt to clean the surface of the object and it turned out, after some cleaning that we had before us not an ant-hill but an upstanding block of wood. The Archaka being encouraged to pursue the investigation, cleaned further areas and we found that we had to deal with a big size stump of a tree. The stump was about 2 feet in diameter and about 7 feet in height, and ended at the top in a plane surface, where evidently, the tree had been sawn off when it had suffered mortality.

On this fact being discovered I suggested to the Archaka that he should look for a Liṅga at the foot of the stump. The Archaka examined the sanctum carefully and found a tiny Sphaṭika-Liṅga placed at the foot of the stump.

These facts seem to point to a stage when the sanctity of the spot arose from a sacred tree at the foot of which some devotee had ages ago set up a Liṅga and offered worship to it and had then railed it round for the safety both of the tree and of the Liṅga. A further stage was reached perhaps when, in addition to the railing, a compound wall was raised at some distance from the railing, and the image to Durgā was set up where it now stands. At a later stage, the tree must have decayed and its top must have been lopped off and a roof provided over the compound wall, so as to protect the stump, and the protection of both wall and roof must have been extended eastwards for the benefit of the Durgā as well. That this conjecture is a highly probable one is attested to by a slab in this temple on which is carved a relief showing a Liṅga under a tree and a Ṛishi and his companions offering worship to the

Liṅga. Evidently, this is a pictorial commentary on the first stage of the origin of this temple.

IV

In Tadpatri Town in Anantapur District, on the edge of the River Pennar, which here takes a northerly curve, there is a temple called Śrī Bugga Rāmaliṅga Īśvara Temple which is conserved under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

This temple consists of four features (a) a main shrine for Śrī Rāmaliṅga, facing west, (b) a small shrine to Vīra-Bhadra just to the south of the Garbha-gṛha of this temple (c) a double shrine facing south and west, with a common Maṇḍapa, and (d) a belt of Maṇḍapas attached to the east and west walls.

The peculiar feature in this temple is that the lower portion of the Liṅga always contains water in the cavity between the vertical and the horizontal portions. Probably due to this the Īśvara is called "Bugga" Rāma Liṅga. The Liṅga is fixed on the floor which level is a little less than the Prākāra floor level. Probably a vertical stone standing in a natural spring suggested the idea of a Liṅga bathed in a sacred Tīrtha. Here we should have the beginnings of a temple.

V

Almost of identical nature is the Liṅga in the Śrī Jambukeśvara Temple at Tiruvanaikaval near Śrīraṅgam in the District of Trichinopoly.

A similar example is found at the Śrī Raṅganātha Perumal Temple at Karamadai, a town on the Railway line between Coimbatore and Mettupalayam about 17 miles from Coimbatore. Here the Mūlasthānam or the Mūla Bhera consists of a flat piece of vertical stone fixed on the floor of the Garbha-gṛha. Afterwards a Pīṭham in two halves has been fixed on it and now on the Pīṭham is placed the head of the Lord.

VI

A peculier origin is suggested by a temple at Mangalagiri (Guntur District) situated on the Railway line connecting Bezwada and Guntur about 12 miles from Bezwada. In the hill temple to Lord

Narasiṃha popularly called "Panaka (jaggery water) Narasiṃha" the Mūla Bhera-is nothing but a small oval orifice on the rear wall of the sanctum sanctorum (Garbha-gṛha) which forms the hill peak. This orifice is depicted as the open mouth of the image of Lord Narasiṃha, carved on the peak. When Panaka is poured into the mouth it goes into the orifice. The popular belief is that this Lord will take only half the quantity of the total quantity of Panaka offered, however small or large the quantity that may be offered.

VII

About one hundred years ago, one Nārāyaṇa Padayachi found a big cutstone pillar, broken at the top, in a forest near Ariyalur, a place on the Trichy-Villupuram Chord Line and near Trichinopoly Town. It is believed that by some divine inspiration he met with the Stambha and that, as commanded by a Siddha, he erected it on the spot where it was lying and after doing so built a small Maṇḍapa all round it. In course of time, the Stambha became very popular and attracted a large number of worshippers who came from far and near places and offered all kinds of Kanikkais.

Today we see this temple consisting of a big compound with many Maṇḍapas and with Utsava Bheras installed for performing festivals as in any other temple. This temple is now called Śrī Kaliyuga Varadarāja Perumal Temple at Kallan-Kurichi and has become so popular that it gets an annual income of nearly a lakh of rupees. Still the 'sanctum sanctorum' has the Stambha erected in its centre and standing right up piercing the ceiling. The Stambha is almost square in section and has tapering sides with the top broken. All 'abhishekas' and 'archanas' are performed to this Stambha only. To create faith and confidence in the minds of the worshippers, Utsava images have been installed and a small Hanumān-like deity is placed on the Pīṭham built around the Stambha.

So ancient, however, is the cult of the Pillar that we need not take too seriously the story of Nārāyaṇa Padayachi's inspiration. Perhaps this is a tribute to the fame of the Stambha which had a revival about a century back.

CONCLUSION

The instances cited above show that usually some natural phenomenon noticed suggested the idea of a Liṅga or God which formed the origin of the temple and the 'sanctum sanctorum' making a beginning. As time advanced, many additions, structures as well as images, came to be made and the pomp and ceremonial connected with them began to grow larger and larger till they reached a gorgeousness competing with those in the most grandiose of ancient institutions.

THE HERITAGE OF WU TAO-TZU

by ZOLTAN DE TAKATS



Wu Tao-tzu was "the Man of Destiny" of Chinese pictorial art. His influence seems to have been perpetual. Recent researches repeatedly resulted in acknowledging his undeniable mastership.

The case regarding the recognition of his immediate followers is quite different. The principles of his composition, his motives, the various types of his figures are already known to some extent. But the reconstruction of the art of his handwriting seems to be hardly possible. The copies from his famous Kwan-Yin, imitations of an undisputable original, largely differ from it in time and quality. It is nearly impossible to give an account of the quantity of such copies. The designs made after his great mythological compositions—edited by F. R. Martin, 'Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tze aus der Goetter und Sagenwelt Chinas', München, 1913—are secondhand documents, and in spite of their immeasurable value, poor in comparison with the imaginable originals.

The secrets of Wu Tao-tzu's conception and feeling have been handed down far better by the well known engraving on a slab inserted in the terrace wall of the Taoist temple Tou-Wang-tien at Ch'ü Yang. It discloses a most peculiar, or even a unique, style in the design of the structure and the movement of muscles. The master has taken, according to the copyist, much freedom, at the cost, and to the detriment,

of anatomical correctness. The muscles of his figures are divided, partly by lines drawn crosswise, into rather loose bundles, partly they seem to be in a spasmodic contraction. (Martin, Pls. 35, 47, 48, 49, 50).

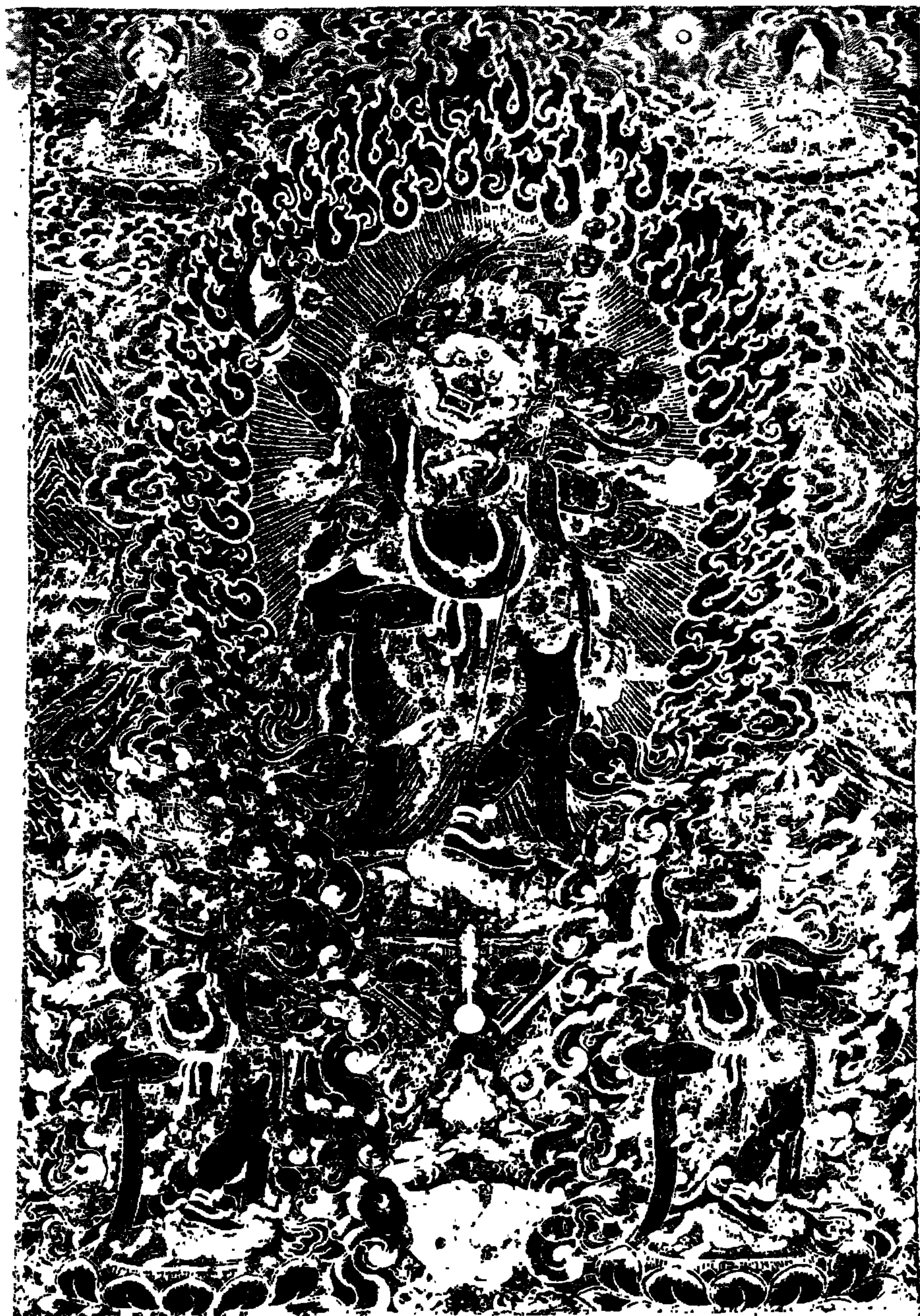
The same exaggerations are seen on a stone relief which I have purchased in Peking for the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest, representing a crouching figure with staring and slanting eyes (Fig., p. 109). I was told by Dr. Herbert Müller, the former owner of this work, that it originally decorated the wall of a pagoda in Honan, on the hill Ts'ing-Liang-shan, district Yü-sha-hsien. It played there the part of an Atlas.

The figure is extremely expressive, but it is a bombastic exaggeration in stone of what the "divine master" once created in painting. The size of the sculpture is 42·5 by 36 cm. On its surface remains of pigments can be seen. The entire apparel of the figure consists of a pair of boots of some perforated material. The perforations form an endless pattern of interchanged rosettes. The boots are trimmed below the knees with a folded stuff.

The conception of this figure is related on the one hand to the crouching savages on the throne of the Yakushi Buddha of the Yakushiji which are older (697), and on the other hand to that on the glazed terracotta plate of the Seoul Museum (P. Andreas Eckardt, O. S. B, 'Geschichte der Koreanischen Kunst', Leipzig, 1929. Pl. CXI, Fig. 353) which in my opinion, seems to be a later work. On this rather stiff figure the string-like formation of the locks is very similar to those of the demon from Honan. The Yakushi figures are marvellous castings, but compared with our stone carving they represent a not quite freely developed state.

The Honan work is full of extravagancies. And it is not derogatory to China's greatest painter genius that he also had been very fond of extravagancies, of distorted and ghastly figures, treated with a wanton superiority. This is just the very element which impresses the Chinese mind above everything else, and it is called "shen" (divine) in Chinese art.

The Atlas-demon of the Francis Hopp Museum reveals the free and ravishing flight of Wu Tao-tzu's spirit, the spirit of that incomparable



XII

master who was—a circumstance not to be forgotten—a native of Honan, a province once abundant with his works.

But even such an abstract and ritually defined art as Lamaistic painting conserved something of Wu Tao-tzu's remote magical touch. It is worthwhile in this respect, to pay attention to a painting in the possession of the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest, Hungary (Pl. XII). This painting, representing the Dākinī Siṃhavaktrā, seems to date from the Ming period.

The following is an iconographical description of this work of art :

Siṃhavaktrā (Tib. Seṅ-ge-gdoṅ [-can] ma or Sen-gdon-ma), the Dākinī with a Lion head, is represented with two attendant sorceresses : to the left Vyāgravaktrā (Tib. sTag-gdoṅ-ma), and to the right Ṛikṣavaktrā (Tib. Dom-gdoṅ-ma).

The size of the canvas is 48 cm by 33 cm, mounted on Chinese brocade of the Ming period. (Francis Hopp Museum, Inv. Nr. 6300).

The Dākinīs are minor goddesses. They are generally invoked for granting superhuman power or Siddhi.

A particular figure of these beings is Siṃhavaktrā whose body is blue. Her face is white (sometimes red). She has a third eye on her forehead. She is dancing, surrounded by a halo of rays and flames, on the back of a naked human being floored on her lotus throne. Her right foot is lifted. She wears Dharmapāla dress and ornaments ; on her head a five-leaved crown with five human heads (?). In her left hand the scull-cup (kapāla) and in the right one the chopper (karttrikā) and the ritual wand (khatvāṅga). On her waist a string of human heads and on her back a human and a tiger's skin.

Under the lotus throne, is suspended on a partly coloured strip, a round golden mirror with the tiny picture of Siṃhavaktrā. In the middle of the bottom an ornamented 'kapāla', containing a tongue hanging out, and two eyes, two ears, a nose, the brain and, on a piece of skin, the human heart, under an embroidered black (?) cloth.

In the lower left corner the dancing Vyāgravaktrā with tiger's head and in the right one Ṛikṣavaktrā with bear's head also have the third eye, the 'kapāla' in the left, and the chopper in the right hand, and

on their left side the 'khatvāṅga'. They are dancing just in the same manner as Siṃhavaktrā, but on a human figure prostrated on its back. They also wear Dharmapāla dress and ornaments, and on their waists the string of human heads. But their crown is only one-leaved. The halo around their bodies consists only of flames, without the rays of the central figure, painted, though not in red with golden outlines, like that around Siṃhavaktrā, but in gold. All the three figures have an exaggeratedly accentuated muscular system, designed in masterly drawn thin golden lines. This art of delineation of surging muscles is quite unusual in Indian and Tibetan painting. It is to be traced back to a very old Chinese tradition, to the tradition of Wu Tao-tzu. The background behind these three figures is covered by a landscape in the style preferred by Wang Wei of T'ang, consisting of several ranges of conically wrinkled mountains.

In the upper left corner the picture of Padmasambhava (Tib. Padma-hbyun-gnas, U-rgyan-pa), the Lotus Born, can be seen. He was a famous teacher of magic charms and tāntric Mantrayāna in his birthplace. It is doubtful whether this place is the province Udyāna in the north-western Swat valley, as Padmasambhava's father, Indrabhūti, was king of Uddyāna is Orissa. Ti-song de Tsen, king of Tibet, invited him to his country in order to teach there tāntric doctrines. He became the leader of the A-ti-yoga school of Tibetan philosophy. Tibetans revere in him the founder of Lamaism, and they, especially the members of the Nying-ma-pa or Red-cap sect, founded by him, worship him as a saint.

He is represented on the lotus throne in 'dhyānāsana', having in his right hand the 'vajra' and in his left the patra (begging bowl). His left arm supports the 'khatvāṇga' (ritual wand) invented by him. He wears a dark (blue ?) robe, embroidered with gold (Aśoka-robe) and a peaked red cap, ending in a half 'vajra', and the lappets of the cap are turned back over the ears.

In the upper right corner Tsong-kha-pa (Tib. Tson-kha-pa ; Mong. Bogda Tsongkaba), the founder of the yellow sect, is represented. He was born in Eastern Tibet in 1357 and died in 1419. His birthplace is marked by the famous monastery Kumbum. Continuing the reformation

of Lamaism, begun by Atīsa in the 11th century, he directed the Tibetan Mādhyamika philosophy, i. e. "the school of the seven middle paths" and became the founder of the Gelug-pa, the Yellow cap sect. The head of this reformed sect is the Dalai-Lama, the "King-Priest" of Tibet who is regarded as the "Living Buddha", i. e. the continuous reincarnation of the Dhyānībodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the God of Mercy.

Tsong-kha-pa is the author of many books on Buddhism and he is regarded also as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. He is represented sitting on the lotus throne or on a cushion, his hands in dharmacakra mudrā. Both hands hold a lotus stem, from which come forth a sword and a book at shoulder level.

From the upper rim of the Thang-ka hangs the usual cover of silk in order to prevent sacrilegious looks.

The picture is from Estern Tibet. The Chinese element in it has, so to say, superseded the Indian one. It is a strange proceeding, no doubt, to look for the individual and grand style of the hero of the Chinese Halcyon Age in an art as severely defined and limited as Lamaistic painting. Yet I regard it as well founded, for, besides the fact that the style of Wu Tao-tzu seems to have been the starting point of the emphatic style, generally called barcque in the West, of the "muscular" representation of human figures, in our specimen the representation of the muscles is linked up with an extraordinarily light, cr even fluctuating movement of the joints, which is, according to the testimony of the sparse remains at our disposal, the characteristic peculiarity of the divinified master.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. on. p. 109 : Demon. Stone relief from a pagoda on the hill Ts'ing Liang-shan in Honan. Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.

Pl. XII. Siṃhavaktrā. Lamaistic painting from Eastern Tibet. Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SIXTEEN JAINA MAHĀVIDYĀS

by U. P. SHAH

Sixteen Mahāvidyās form a group of Tāntric goddesses according to both the Jain sects (the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara).

Jaina writers have drawn a line of distinction between 'mantra' and 'vidyā'. Both possess magic powers, but whereas 'mantras', constituted of letters like 'Om, Hrīm, Svāhā', etc., are presided over by male deities and mastered by repetition, 'vidyās' are combinations of words invoking female divinities and mastered only by the prescribed rite.[1]

Jaina traditions speak of the existence of as many af 48,000 'vidyās'. Out of these only sixteen are reported to be the chief ('Mahā') 'vidyās'. Texts prescribing 'sādhanas' or rites for each of these sixteen Mahāvidyās are not yet traced, but belief in them seems to be ancient.[2]

Both the Buddhist and Jaina sources demonstrate the popularity of spells, magic, 'mantras', 'vidyās', the science of divination, etc., in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha.[3] Like Buddha, Mahāvīra also could not totally discard the belief in magic powers and supernatural cognition obtained through austerities. The Aupapātika sūtra[4] says that the 'therās' ('sthaviras') following Mahāvīra knew both the 'vijjā' and 'manta'. Mantrapiṇḍa and Vidyāpiṇḍa or the alms obtained through the practice of mantra or vidyā are strictly prohibited by the Uttarādhyayana sūtra.[4] The Sūtrakṛtāṅga sūtra[4] refers to 'Antaddhānī vijjā', while the Nāyādhammakahāo refers to the 'utpatanī' ('uppayani') vidyā. The latter text also shows that thieves knew certain vidyās and mantras useful in robbery, one of them being the power to open any lock. Or a certain lady named Poṭṭilā is reported to have requested a group of Jaina nuns to show her some powder, mantra, rite, 'vaśīkarma', etc., whereby she can regain the love of her husband. The description of the venerable ascetic Sudharmā,

one of the chief disciples of Mahāvīra, given in the same text, is also noteworthy inasmuch as he is said to be conversant with both 'vijjā' and 'manta', along with many other things.[4]

The 'Jāṅgoli-vijjā' or the vidyā for removing the effects of poisons etc., is known to the Sthānāṅga sūtra. The same text also refers to the 'Mātaṅga vidyā' which the commentator also explains as a vidyā for knowing the past history.[5] The Mahāniśītha sūtra supposed to have been composed a little later and afterwards re-edited by Haribhadra sūri (c. 700-770 A. D.), gives the 'vijjā' for throwing scented powder (vāsakṣepa). It also gives the 'Śrutadevatā-vidyā' and the 'Varddhamāna vidyā'. It may be noted here that Vajrasvāmī, a great Jaina Pontiff who lived in the sixth century after Mahāvīra, is reputed to be the author of the first work on this 'Varddhamāna vidyā'.[6]

Sūtrakṛtāṅga sūtra, the second Jaina canonical text, gives a list of forbidden sciences, 'pāpaśrutas', which includes divination of various sorts and the following vidyās : 'Vaitālī', 'Ardhavaitālī', 'Avasvāpanī', Tālugghāḍaṇī', 'Śvapākī', 'Sovārī', 'Dāmilī', 'Kāliṅgī', 'Gaurī', 'Gāndhārī', 'Āvedanī', 'Utpatanī', 'Jambhanī', 'Stambhanī', 'Lesanī', 'Āmayakaraṇī', 'Viśalyakaraṇī', 'Antardhānī', and so forth.[7]

The Samavāyāṅga sūtra[8] also mentions a list of 'pāpaśrutas' or sinful sciences wherein are included, besides others, the 'Vidyānuyoga,' the 'Mantrānuyoga', and the 'Yogānuyoga'. According to the commentator Abhayadeva (c. 1046 A. D.), Vidyānuyoga is the science which prescribes rites for vidyās like 'Rohiṇī' and others.

The Daśavaikalika sūtra[9] mentions 'Avanāminī' and 'Unnāminī vidyās' possessed by a Mātaṅga. The Niśītha sūtra (xiii uddeśa) is full of references to vidyā, mantra, yoga, cūrṇa, etc., and says that a sādhu shall perform the prescribed penance if he employs these for or communicates to the followers of other sects or even Jaina householders.

The Niśītha Bhāṣya refers to Ratnadevatā, Śuci-vidyās and 'Mātaṅga vidyās' named 'Gaurī' and 'Gāndhārī'.[10] The Bṛhat-kalpa Bhāṣya also describes these two vidyās as 'Mātaṅga vidyās'.[11]

The earliest Jaina account of the origin and worship of Vidyādevīs and the Vidyādharas available to-day is the Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa gaṇi (c. 500 A. D.). Similar accounts are given by Jinadāsa Mahattara,

the author of Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī (c. 677 A. D.), by Haribhadra sūrī in his gloss on the Āvaśyaka niryukti, by Śilaṅka sūrī in his Caupannamahāpuruṣacariyam (868 A D.) and still later by Hemacandra (c. 1100-1167 A D.) in his Triṣaṣṭī-śalākā-puruṣacaritam.

According to Hemacandra, once upon a time when the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha was practising austerities, Nami and Vinami went to him and began worshipping him with the desire of obtaining worldly prosperity from the Lord. But the great sage was in meditation and remained unconcerned. Thereupon, Dharaṇa, the king of the Nāgakumāras, came on the spot and in order that the worship of the Lord may not be spoken of as fruitless, granted to Nami and Vinami, Lordship over the Vidyādharas. Both the devotees were asked to found two groups of cities on the Northern and Southern slopes of the Vaitāḍhya mountain and were given forty-eight thousand vidyās, Gaurī and Prajñapti being the chief amongst them.

Nami founded fifty cities on the Vaitāḍhya mountain in a Southern row while Vinami made sixty in a Northern one. There were sixteen clans of Vidyādharas named after the class of vidyās they possessed. Hemacandra gives the following list : Gaureyās from the vidyās known as 'Gaurīs', Manupūrvakas from the vidyās known as 'Manus', Gāndhārās from the 'Gāndhārīs', Mānavās from the 'Mānavīs', Kaiśikīpūrvakas from the 'Kaiśikīs', Bhūmituṇḍakas from 'Bhūmituṇḍas', Mūlavīryakas from 'Mūlavīryas', Saṅkukās from 'Saṅkukās', Pāṇḍukās from 'Pāṇḍukīs', Kālikeyās from 'Kālīs', Śvapākas from 'Śvapākīs', Mātaṅgas from the 'Mātaṅgīs', Pārvatās from the 'Pārvatīs', Vaṃśālayās from the 'Vaṃśālayās', Pāṃśumūlakās from the 'Pāṃśumūlas', and Vṛkṣamūlakas from the 'Vṛkṣamūlas'.

Nami took eight classes and Vinami took eight. With their hearts filled with joy and devotion to the Lord, they established divinities presiding over the vidyās in each class.[12] Hemacandra's list of the sixteen groups given above follows the ancient traditions as it agrees with the list given by Jinadāsa in his Āvaśyaka cūrṇī.[13] Jinadāsa, however, notes that the forty-eight thousand vidyās originally belong to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas and that only four, namely, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Rohiṇī and Prajñapti were the chief amongst them. Haribhadra

sūrī who wrote his gloss on the Āvaśyaka niryukti,[14] about a century later, refers to the above mentioned four goddesses only as the chief vidyās. He however gives the account in an abridged form and does not give the list of the sixteen classes of the Vidyādharas. The Āvaśyaka niryukti, is a sort of commentary on the Āvaśyaka sūtra, composed after the manner of the Brahmanical sūtras and sometimes giving only the suggestive words ; it was composed by Bhadrabāhu II in c. the fourth—fifth century A. D. The account of Nami and Vinami is first suggested in this niryukti, but it neither mentions any of the chief vidyās nor does it refer to the sixteen classes of the Vidyādharas.

According to the Vasudevahiṇḍī, composed by Saṅghadāsa gaṇi in c. 500 A. D., the vidyās originally belonged to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas and were forty-eight thousand in number including vidyās like 'Mahā-Rohiṇī', 'Paṇṇatti' (Prajñapti), 'Gori' (Gaurī), 'Vijjumukhi' (Vidyutmukhī), 'Mahājālā' (Mahājvālā), 'Tirikkhamaṇī', 'Bhaurūpā' and others. Hemacandra's list of the sixteen classes of Vidyādharas practically agrees with the list given by Saṅghadāsa.[15] Besides the above mentioned vidyās, Saṅghadāsa refers to some other goddesses like 'Abhogini', 'Osovani', 'Jalavanti' ? (same as 'Mahā-Jāla-vijjā'), 'Thambhani', 'Nisumbha', 'Pannaga-vijjā Bhamari', 'Veyālavijjā', etc.[16]

But the account of Nami and Vinami is available in a still earlier Jaina narrative work called Paumacariyam, composed by Vimala sūrī, of the Nāila Śākhā of Śvetāmbara monks which is supposed to have been started by Ārya Nāila, a pupil of Vajrasvāmī in c. 150 V. S. But a verse at the end of this work says that it was composed in the year 530 after Mahāvīra, that is, in 4 A. D. Scholars like Jacobi, Keith and Woolner assigned to it a date varying from the third to the fifth century A. D., while Winternitz, Leumann and others did not find any justification for discarding the date given in the text itself. Paumacariyam contains a short account of Nami and Vinami obtaining lordship over the Vidyādharas. Neither the sixteen classes nor the chief vidyās are mentioned in this account. But in other places the text refers to a number of vidyās.

The text deals with the story of Rāma, wherein the author describes in one chapter the 'vidyādhara-vaṃśa'. Rāvaṇa and his brethren are

said to have propitiated several vidyās, amongst whom are found names like 'Prajñapti', 'Kaumārī', 'Aṇimā', 'Laghimā', 'Vajrodarī', 'Varuṇī', 'Aiśānī', 'Vijayā', 'Jayā', 'Vārāhī', 'Kauberī', 'Yogeśvarī', 'Caṇḍālī', 'Madanāsanī', 'Śaṅkarī', and so forth. In another place Rāvaṇa's sādhana of the 'Bahurūpā vidyā' is described at length. Bahurūpā is here called a Mahā-vidyā. Paumacariyam also refers to other vidyās amongst whom one 'Sīhavāhinī' (Siṃhavāhinī) bestowed upon Padma (Rāma) by a god is noteworthy. In another place we meet with a Sarvvakāmā-vidyā of eight letters ; another vidyā with a 'parivāra' of ten thousand crores of mantras is said to have been made up of sixteen letters.[17]

Raviṣena, a Digambara writer, composed Padmacaritam in the year 1203 after Mahāvīra (676 A. D.). It is more or less a Sanskṛt version of the Prākṛt Paumacariyam, and the vidyās noted above are also referred in this work. Like the Paumacariyam it does not refer to either the sixteen classes of vidyādharas or the sixteen chief vidyās, though one of the Mahā-vidyās, namely, 'Prajñapti', is known to both.[18]

Another Digambara narrative work called Harivaṃśa written by Jinasena I in Śaka year 705 (783-4 A. D.) supports the tradition of Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, Vasudevahiṇḍi and other texts in giving the account of Nami and Vinami, and further states that of the vidyādharas, the following eight classes, namely, 'Manus, Mānavas, Kauśikas, Gaurikas, Gāndhāras, Bhūmituṇḍakas, Mūlavīryas and Śaṅkukas', belonged to the Āryas, Ādityas, or Gandharvas while the other eight, namely, the 'Mātaṅga', the 'Pāṇḍuka', the 'Kāla', the 'Śvapāka', the 'Parvata', the 'Vaṃśālaya', the 'Pāṇḍumūla', and the 'Vṛkṣamūla', classes belonged to the Daityas, the Pannagas or the Mātaṅgas.[19] This division into the Ārya vidyās and the Daitya vidyās opens a new road of investigation in the evolution of Indian Tantra.

The Harivaṃśa further gives the following iconographical description of these sixteen classes of vidyādharas : the Gaurikas hold the lotus and wear a garland of lotuses ; the Gāndhāras put on a red woollen 'shawl' and carry the rosary of red beads ; the Mānavas put on golden and yellow kauśeya garments and shine with variegated colours ; the Manuputrakas wearing reddish garments are adorned with jewels ; the Mūlavīryas shining with ornaments and garlands of various colours and types carry various

kinds of shrubs in their hands ; the Bhūmituṇḍakas, living underground, are adorned with golden ornaments and garlands and (carry) flowers of all seasons ; the Śaṅkukas wear kuṇḍalas of diverse design and colour as also the armlets of nāga-design ; the Kauśikās wear crowns and kuṇḍalas beset with jewels ; black like clouds, the Mātaṅgas are adorned with dark-blue garments and necklaces ; the Smaśānanilayas wear ornaments of bones collected from cremation grounds and appear white besmeared with the ashes therefrom , the Pāṇḍukas wear costly garments of dark-blue hue ; the Kālaśvapākas (Kālas) wear garments of black goat-skin ; the Śvapākas with brown hair shine with ornaments of gold ; the Pārvateyas adorned with crowns and garlands, put on garments of leaves ; the Vaṃśālaya wear garlands made of flowers of all seasons and are adorned with crests of bamboo-leaves ; while the Vṛkṣamūlikas shine with big cobras used as ornaments.[20]

Besides the lists of the sixteen classes of vidyādharas, the author of the Harivaṃśa gives a list of Mahā-vidyās and states that the following vidyās, belonging to the above-mentioned sixteen classes, are assigned the chief position amongst all vidyās : 'Prajñapti', 'Rohiṇī', 'Aṅgāriṇī', 'Mahā-Gaurī', 'Gaurī', 'Mahaśvetā', 'Māyūrī', 'Ārya-Kūṣmāṇḍa-devī', 'Acyutā', 'Āryavatī', 'Gāndhārī', 'Nirvṛtiḥ', 'Bhadra-Kālī', 'Mahā-Kālī', 'Kālī', and 'Kālamukhī'.[21]

The list is important in as much as, besides being one of the earliest complete lists of the sixteen vidyās available to us, it differs largely from the somewhat later lists supplied by writers of both the sects. According to these later traditions, the sixteen Mahāvidyās are : 1. 'Rohiṇī', 2. 'Prajñapti', 3. 'Vajraṣṛṅkhalā', 4. 'Vajrāṅkuśā', 5. 'Cakreśvarī (Śve)', 'Jāmbunadā (Dig.)', 6. 'Naradattā' or 'Puruṣadattā', 7. 'Kālī', 8. 'Mahā-Kālī', 9. 'Gaurī', 10. 'Gāndhārī', 11. 'Sarvāstra-mahājvālā (Śve.)', 'Jvalāmālinī (Dig.)', 12. 'Mānavī', 13. 'Vairoṭyā (Śve)', 'Vairoṭī (Dig.)', 14. 'Acchuptā (Śve.)', 'Acyutā (Dig.)', 15. 'Mānasī', 16. 'Mahā-Mānasī'..[22]

An incomplete work called Saṃhitāsāra[23] attributed to the great Digambara ācārya Īndranandi (c. 861 Śaka year ; 939 A. D.) gives a list of these Mahāvidyās. According to this text, the fifth vidyā-devī is called 'Apraticakrā' while the names of other vidyās do not differ from the list noted above. Though a list of the sixteen Mahāvidyās is not available

in the Ādipurāṇa of the Digambara writer Jinasena II (c. 815-877 A. D.) or in the Uttarapurāṇa of his pupil Guṇabhadra, Mahavidyās like Prajñapti and Mahājvālā were known to them.[24]

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, as shown above, only four goddesses were known as Mahā-vidyās up to the time of Haribhadra sūri (c 700-800 A. D.). But the Tijayapahutta stotra attributed to Mānadeva sūri (before the 9th century A. D.) gives a list of the sixteen vidyādevīs. Again, the Pārśvanātha stotra of Śivanāga (c. 893 A.D) refers to Pārśvanātha as the Lord of the sixteen vidyās.[25] Śīlāṇka, the author of Caupannamahāpuruṣa-cariyam (c. 868 A. D.), giving an abridged account of Nami and Vinami, says that they were granted lordship over 48,000 mahā-vidyās with 'Prajñapti' as the chief amongst them. Evidently, Śīlāṅka followed an early tradition even though several more Mahā-vidyās were known in his times.[26]

One more Śvetāmbara tradition deserves special notice. Both Bappabhaṭṭī sūri[27] (c. 743-838 A. D.) and Śobhana muni (c. 973 A. D.)[27] composed short hymns in adoration of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Along with each Tīrthaṅkara they generally praised one goddess (and rarely a god) who is usually one of the sixteen Mahāvidyās. Both do not maintain the same order which shows that no special association was intended between the Jina and the vidyā praised together with him. It is indeed surprising to find the Mahā-vidyās invoked together with the different Tīrthaṅkaras instead of their attendant yakṣiṇīs.

In the following pages is discussed the iconography of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās known to the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Jaina sects from c. 800 A. D. Images or paintings of these goddesses are very rare though their popularity in ancient Jaina ritual is attested by literary sources. As yet no sculpture or painting of a Digambara Mahā-vidyā is brought to light but future researches carried out with the help of the following iconographic tables may result in some interesting discoveries.

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, a very valuable set of sculptures is fortunately preserved in the dome of the sabhā-maṇḍapa of the famous shrine, Vimala vasahī at Ābu, built by Vimala sāha in 1088 V. S. The shrine underwent repairs later in c. 1378 V. S., but the sculptures published seem to be the work of the artists of Vimala sāha. Another set is preserved

in a similar dome in the Lūṇa Vasahī, built by Tejaḥpāla at Ābu in 1232 A. D. Almost half of the extant sculptures in the Lūṇa vasahī set are ugly copies placed there by modern, crude hands. Two more sets, one showing the Mahā-vidyās in a standing posture and the other representing them in a sitting posture, are preserved on the outer wall of the shrine of the Kharatara-vasahī, Ābu, built in the sixteenth century A. D. It was not possible to photograph these two sets for want of proper facilities.[28]

A set of six-armed Mahā-vidyās, arranged in a beautiful circle round a sixteen-petalled full-grown lotus and each standing on a small lotus, the whole group creating the impression of a circular dance full of movement, is preserved in a corridor ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī. The set seems to be a later addition and represents a tradition which is different from the main set noted above. Identifications of a few of these six-armed figures are attempted in the following pages with but little success and should be regarded as tentative. Even in the main set the task of recognising the different vidyās has not been fully fruitful. All the figures of the main set are described in the following analysis and arranged according to their number in the standard lists of Maha-vidyās available in mediaeval Jaina literature. In the Vimala vasahī itself they are placed in circular order, beginning with Rohiṇī whose identification cannot be questioned and who tops the lists of vidyā-devīs.

A palm-leaf manuscript of seven different works bound in one volume (folios numbered in a consecutive order), preserved in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāra at Chāṇī, contains miniatures of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Lakṣmī, Brahma-śānti and Kaparddī on different folios. Stylistically, the set belongs to the thirteenth century A. D. Hitherto it was erroneously supposed that the manuscript contains a date, V. S. 1218. But Muni Puṇyavijaya, a veteran Jaina scholar, who has carefully examined the manuscript, says that a reference to the death of Vijayasena sūrī in V. S. 1301, at the end of 'Piṇḍa-niryukti', on folios 131-32, shows clearly that the manuscript was copied some time after A. D. 1245.[29]

ROHINI : THE FIRST MAHAVIDYA

Rohiṇī who stands at the top in all Jaina lists of Vidyādevīs, is so called because she makes the seed of 'puṇya' grow up.[30] Her great prowess is praised everywhere and she is said to protect the worshippers [31]

The Digambara yakṣiṇī of the second Jina Ajitanātha is also known as Rohiṇī. It is interesting to find that the conch symbol and the cow vehicle are common to some of the forms of Rohiṇī, the yakṣī, and Rohiṇī, the Vidyādevī.

In worship, two varieties of forms of the Mahā-Vidyā Rohiṇī are widespread : they are the four-armed and the multi-armed ones.

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī sūrī gives the earliest dhyāna of Rohiṇī, according to which the goddess is white in complexion, bears the arrow, the rosary, the bow and the conch in her hands, and rides a cow.[32]

This early tradition has been followed by Śobhana muni[33] and the authors of Nirvāṇakalikā[34] and Ācāradinakara,[35] as well as the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa of Sāgarcandra.[36] According to the Nirvāṇakalikā, Rohiṇī is white in complexion, rides a cow and carries the rosary and the arrow in her two right hands while holding the conch and the bow in the two left ones.

Another variety of this form is found in the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature which represents her riding a cow and holding the arrow and the bow in the right and the left upper hands. Her two lower hands show the 'varada' and the conch symbols. Golden in complexion, Rohiṇī wears a crown, a green bodice and a lower garment of red and green design. No dhyāna for this form is forthcoming.

A beautiful sculpture of Rohiṇī is found on the ceiling in the main 'maṇḍapa' of the famous Vimala vasahī shrine at Mt. Ābu. Rohiṇī is here represented as standing with the cow as her vehicle. Her right lower hand, held in the 'varada' pose, carries the rosary while the left lower shows the conch symbol. The remaining two symbols are unfortunately mutilated but the upper part of the broken arrow in her right upper hand is still visible. A similar figure is carved on a pillar in one of the Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā. In the Kharataravasahī sets, she shows the same set of symbols, but the arrow is mutilated in both figures.

The Digambara tradition, represented by the Pratiṣṭhātilaka[37] and the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,[38] give another set of symbols for this goddess, namely, the jar of nectar (kalaśa), the conch, the lotus and the fruit. Golden in complexion, Rohiṇī sits on the lotus. Vasunandi gives the same complexion and the vāhana for this goddess. He calls her four-armed but refers to the conch, the lotus and the fruit symbols only.

Śubhacandra gives yet another form in his Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā.[39] Here the vidyā shows the spear, the lotus, the 'varada mudrā' and the fruit in her four hands and sits in 'sukhāsana' on the lotus.

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the set of six-armed Mahā-vidyās in the Vimala vasahī, it is difficult to distinguish between Rohiṇī, the first Mahā-vidyā and Acchuptā, the fourteenth, since both these goddesses are said to carry the bow and the arrow while there is only one figure with these two symbols. Again, since vāhanas are omitted in this set and as no dhyānas are available from any text, the task becomes more difficult. Nor is there any parallel set available in sculptures or paintings.

III. Eight-Armed Variety. A metal image, now being worshipped in the Śāntinātha temple, Cambay, represents an eight-armed goddess seated in 'lalitāsana' on a cow with her right foot hanging. Over her head is a miniature figure of a Jina seated in the dhyāna mudrā, padmāsana. The goddess carries, in her left hands, the noose, an indistinct symbol, the bow, and the citron. Her right hands show the disc, the arrow and the 'varada mudrā'. The image is thus a rare specimen of the eight-armed Rohiṇī vidyā, in Śvetāmbara worship.

An eight-armed figure of a goddess on a pillar in the compound of the Digambara Jaina temple no. 12 at Deogarh fort, Jhansi district, U. P., also sits on the cow vehicle and carries the noose, the bow, the arrow and the citron in her left hands. In the right hands can be seen the disc, an indistinct symbol, the 'khaḍga' and the 'varada mudrā'. The cow vehicle is seen in front of her seat. The form is thus identical with the Cambay figure. But the Deogarh figure represents the yakṣiṇī Mālinī of the Digambara tradition, as can be inferred from another inscribed sculpture discovered from the same site.[40] One has therefore to be cautious in labelling a Jaina sculpture for often the title depends upon the sects to which it belongs. However, it seems that the yakṣī

Mālinī of the Digambaras is based upon the earlier Jaina vidyā-devī Rohiṇī whose antiquity cannot be questioned. The Cambay bronze is not inscribed but since it appears to be a product of the late mediaeval Gujarāti art and since it is being worshipped in a temple of the Śvetāmbara sect which has a very large following in Gujarāt, it is probable that the Cambay bronze was originally installed by the Śvetāmbaras as the Rohiṇī vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. A multi-armed form of the goddess is thus described by the Nirvāṇakalikā : "Om Hail ! Oblation to Rohiṇī, seated on the eastern petal (of the 'maṇḍala' or the magic circle), whose complexion is as white as the moon, and who holds the conch, the bow and such other weapons in her numerous hands".[41]

Worship of Rohiṇī seems to have been introduced in Jainism from very early times, as the Āvaśyaka cūrṇī includes her amongst the four Mahā-vidyās. Haribhadra also refers to a 'Rohiṇī-tapa',[42] some kind of austerities to propitiate the goddess Rohiṇi. A vidyā-devī called 'Mahā-Rohiṇī' was also known to the author of the Vasudevahiṇḍī.[43] Possibly this was the multi-armed variety of Rohiṇī discussed above.

PRAJNAPTI : THE SECOND MAHAVADYA

Prajñapti is so called because she has wide ('prakṛṣṭā') knowledge ('jñapti').[44] She is also invoked for removing miseries and destroying enemies.

The Digambara yakṣiṇī[45] of the Jina Sambhavanātha is also called Prajñapti. As a yakṣiṇī she holds a different set of symbols though the vāhana in both cases remains unchanged.

Prajñapti has three chief varieties of forms according as she has (1) two (2) four or (3) many arms.

I. Two-Armed Variety. The Ācāradinakara[46] describes her as shining like a lotus petal and as riding the peacock, with the śakti (dart) and the lotus held in her two hands.

Śobhana muni also calls her 'śakti-karā' (i. e. one who has the javelin in her hand).[47] Bappabhaṭṭī refers specially to her 'śakti' symbol but unfortunately remains silent about the number of her arms ; he, however mentions the peacock vehicle.[48] Thus the 'śakti' seems to be

her chief distinguishing symbol along with the peacock vāhana, in the Śvetāmbara tradition.

The Digambara text Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra[49] says that the goddess holds the 'khaḍga' (sword) and the disc in her hands. Dark-blue in complexion, she enjoys her ride on the horse vehicle. The Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā of Śubhacandra gives this form and calls her 'Dhiṣaṇikā' as well.[50]

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to Nirvāṇakalikā,[51] Prajñapti is white in complexion, rides a peacock and has four arms showing the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in her two right hands and the citron and the 'śakti' in the two left ones.

The Chāṇī miniature representing a slightly different variety, shows the goddess seated in 'bhadrāsana', and holding the javelins in the two upper hands while the two lower ones display the 'varada' pose. Golden in complexion, the deity puts on a white garment of black design ; while the peacock vehicle is shown at the side.

According to Sāgaracandra,[52] Prajñapti bears the trident, the staff, the 'abhaya' and the citron in her four hands. Red in complexion she is further called 'Sargāsanasthā'.

The Vimala vasahī, Mt. Ābu, contains two beautiful sculptures of Prajñapti. The first placed in the dome of the 'sabhā-maṇḍapa' represents her in a standing attitude and carrying the 'śakti' and the 'kukkuṭa' in her right and the left upper hands respectively ; the remaining hands are mutilated. The peacock is shown as her vāhana.

The second sculpture, from a group of four vidyādevīs in the ceiling opposite cell no. 39, represents her riding on a peacock and showing the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in the two right hands and the 'abhaya' and the 'kukkuṭa' in the two left ones. It seems that both the sculptures are of the same variety of form.

Another figure of the goddess is carved on the door-frame of cell no. 43, Vimalavasahī. Here the vidyā shows the citron instead of the 'abhaya' in the preceding figure.

The Kharataravasahī sets present a new variety for which no dhyānas are available. The devī carries the 'vajra' in the two upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones.

A peacock is shown as the vāhana in the standing as well as sitting postures.

The Digambara text Pratiṣṭhātilaka,[53] however, supplies another form with the disc, the 'khaḍga' (sword), the conch and the 'varada' symbols.

Vasunandi,[54] giving a Digambara tradition merely refers to one symbol for most of the sixteen vidyādevīs. According to him Prajñapti is four-armed and dark in complexion and holds the 'khaḍga' in her hand. It will be evident that the 'khaḍga' is her chief distinguishing symbol in the Digambara tradition.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās, a goddess carries the 'śakti' in her right uppermost hand, an indistinct symbol in the corresponding left, and shows the 'jñāna mudrā', with the middle pair of hands. Her right third hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the 'abhaya' is shown by the corresponding left. She appears to be Prajñapti, the second Mahā-vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā[55] Prajñapti shines like a lotus and carries the 'śakti' and numerous such weapons in her many hands.

The worship of Prajñapti must have been wide-spread in ancient times as she has been referred as one of the four Mahā-vidyās by Jinadāsa. She is also known to the author of the Paumacariyam. Saṅghadāsa, the author of the Vasudevahiṇḍi, describes how Pradyumna could make Jāmbavatī change her form with the help of the Prajñapti vidyā. Prajñapti is also invoked in the story of Kamalāmelā, given in the Bṛhat-kalpa-Bhāṣya and the Āvaśyaka-ṭikā of Haribhadra,[56] especially for change of form. The Ādipurāṇa[57] refers to the Mahā-Prajñapti-vidyā which, along with other vidyās, grants the worshipper his desired boons. The Mahā-Prajñapti of the Ādipurāṇa was possibly a multi-armed form of the Prajñapti vidyā.

Although no sādhanas of Prajñapti are available, certain inferences regarding the nature of this vidyā can be drawn from the texts referred to above. She seems to have been specially invoked for change of form. The title Prajñapti obviously denotes knowledge, as suggested by Hemacandra, and may be compared with the Buddhist terms Prajñā



1



2



4



3

and Prājñāpāramitā. In ancient times this was the proper term for true knowledge and intelligence. The fifth Jaina Aṅga text is known as Vyākhyā-Prajñapti. Another ancient text is styled Prajñapanā sūtra. It may be that originally Prajñapti vidyā was propitiated for obtaining supernatural cognition. In this capacity she invites comparison with Sarasvatī who is also associated with the peacock.

It will be remembered that according to the Paumacariyam Rāvaṇa propitiated 'Prajñapti' along with 'Kaumārī', 'Cāṇḍālī', 'Vārāhī', 'Kauberī', 'Aiśānī', 'Śaṅkarī', 'Jayā', 'Vijayā', and other vidyās. Obviously many of these are familiar ancient goddesses of the Brahmanical pantheon. Of these, Kaumārī, the well-known Mātṛkā and the female counterpart or energy of Kumāra (Skanda), is conceived parallel with Prajñapti. Kaumārī is four-armed and carries according to the Aṃśumadbhedāgama, the 'śakti' and the 'kukkuṭa' in two hands while showing the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' with the other two. The peacock is her vāhana.[58]

VAJRASRNKHALA : THE THIRD MAHA-VIDYA

The goddess is named after her distinguishing symbol 'vajra-śṛṅkhalā, or adamantine chain, that is to say, a chain as strong as adamant.[59]

The yakṣiṇī of the Tīrthaṅkara Abhinandana is also called Vajraśṛṅkhalā in the Digambara tradition although she does not show the chain symbol.

This Vidyādevī usually sits on a lotus and the chain in her hand is the recognition symbol. She is worshipped in three principal varieties of form, namely, the two-armed, four-armed and the multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra[60] (Digambara) as well as the Śobhana-stuti[61] (Śvetāmbara) seem to refer to a two-armed variety with the chain in one or both the hands Bappabhaṭṭi sūrī also follows the same tradition.[62] Golden in complexion according to both sects, she has the lotus-vāhana acording to the Śvetāmbaras.

The Ācāradinakara gives the chain and the club as her symbols. According to it, the goddess is golden in complexion and sits on the lotus.[63]

The Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā of Śubhacandra[64] gives quite a different tradition, according to which the deity holds the 'vajra' in her hands and

rides the elephant. Her hand is said to shine like gold which suggests that she was conceived as golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. In this variety are found two principal sets of symbols. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[65] followed by the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa,[66] the goddess is as white as the conch, and sits on a lotus, showing the 'varada' and the chain in the two right hands and the lotus and the chain in the two left ones.

The Digambara tradition, represented by the Pratiṣṭhātilaka,[67] gives the chain, the conch, the lotus and the citron in her four hands

The Chāṇī miniature shows a third variety. The goddess sits on a lotus in the 'bhadrāsana' and carries the chain in the upper pair of hands, while the lower pair show the 'varada' and the citron in the right and the left respectively. Golden in appearance, she wears a green bodice and a black lower garment with red lines.

In the Vimala vasahī are found two sculptures representing this goddess. The first, placed in a group of sixteen Mahā-vidyās, in the ceiling of the central maṇḍapa, represents her standing and holding the chain with two upper hands, while the two lower ones show the rosary and the mace ('gadā'). The lotus is her cognizance.

Another sculpture from 'bhāva' no. 28, shows her seated in 'lalitāsana' with the right foot hanging. Both the upper hands of the goddess carry the chain while the right lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā'. The symbol held in the left lower hand is mutilated beyond recognition. The lotus is her cognizance.

In the Kharataravasahī sets both the standing and the sitting figures of the goddess Vajraśṛṅkhalā have identical symbols, namely, the chain in the two upper hands, the 'varada mudrā' in the right lower and the fruit in the left lower. The lotus is her cognizance.

III. Six-Armed Variety. A six-armed form of the goddess is carved in one of the corridor-ceilings of the Vimala vasahī. The goddess here sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose and carries with the uppermost pair of hands, the two ends of the adamantine chain running across the back of her head. The lowermost right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the corresponding left carries the mace. The central pair of hands is mutilated. Probably the two central hands

showed the 'jñāna mudrā'. This is inferred on the evidence of the sixteen Mahāvidyās arranged in a group in the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, of the same temple, where the goddess carries the chain in her two uppermost hands, shows indistinct mudrās with the central pair, the 'varada mudrā' with the third right hand and the 'abhaya' with the corresponding left.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[68] gives a multi-armed form showing various symbols beginning with the iron-chain, etc. In this form the deity is golden in complexion, and presides over the southern quarter.

A curious figure of a sixteen-armed goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool is preserved in 'bhāva' no. 31, Vimala vasahī. The goddess is attended upon by a standing female fly-whisk bearer on each side. Her two uppermost hands carry the chain running over the top of her crown while two left lower hands hold the mace and the 'kalaśa'. The rest of the symbols are mutilated. A vāhana with the face mutilated but looking like a horse is standing in front of her seat. Now, in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, Kandarpā, the yakṣiṇī of the fifteenth Jina has the horse vehicle and shows the lotus, the goad, the lotus and the 'abhaya' in her four hands. Caṇḍā or Pracaṇḍā, the twelfth yakṣiṇī, also has the horse vāhana and shows the club, the flower, the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in her four hands. The above figure has the club symbol but since the majority of symbols are mutilated, it is difficult to identify her as Caṇḍā or Kandarpā. But the chain symbol (held in the uppermost hands) is not carried by any other goddess of the Śvetāmbara pantheon and hence it is probable that the sculpture represents the Vajraśṛṅkhalā Mahā-vidyā of the Śvetāmbaras, the horse vehicle being an exception to the general rule.

The above account shows that the appellation referred to this goddess since she carried a chain as hard (and invincible) as the 'vajra' (or an adamantine chain).

Vajraśṛṅkhalā is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi in Vajrayāna Buddhism,[69] and is named after the 'vajra-śṛṅkhalā' carried in one of her hands. Vajra has a special significance and means Śūnya in the Vajrayāna. Both Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī of the

Jainas seem to have been influenced by Buddhist goddesses of the same names.

VAJRANKUSI : THE FOURTH MAHAVIDYA

This deity, like the preceding one is named after her two chief distinguishing symbols, namely, the 'vajra' and the 'aṅkuśa'.[70] The goddess generally rides the elephant.

She is represented in three chief forms : (1) Two-armed, (2) Four-armed and (3) Multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Both Bappabhaṭṭī[71] and Śobhana muni,[72] representing an early tradition, describe her as holding the thunderbolt and the goad in her hands. Golden in complexion, the vidyādevī is said to ride a white elephant.

The Digambara tradition given by the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā also prescribes the same form of the goddess, but she is said to be black in complexion.

The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra[73] also describes a two-armed form but the vajra is here replaced by a 'vīṇā'. Besides, the devī is said to ride a 'puṣpa-yāna.'

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Ācāradinakara[74] gives the sword, the 'vajra', the shield and the spear as the symbols in her four hands. The deity is golden in complexion and rides a rutting elephant Being strong as the thunderbolt ('vajra') she is invoked for removing the obstacles of the whole world.

The Nirvāṇakalikā[75] says that the devī, golden in complexion, shows the 'varada mudrā' and the 'vajra' in the two right hands and the citron and the goad in the two left ones. The elephant is her vehicle.

Sāgarcandra, in his Mantrādhirājakalpa,[76] invokes her for removing miseries, and describes her as golden in appearnace and holding the fruit, the rosary, the goad and the trident in her four hands. The goddess rides an elephant and is attended upon by numerous deities.

According to Pratiṣṭhātilaka,[77] representing the Digambara tradition, the deity Vajrāṅkuśī holds the goad, the lotus and the citron in her hands. The fourth symbol, not specified in the text, should probably be the 'vajra'.

The Chāṇī miniature represents her as holding the 'vajra' in the two upper hands while the lower ones show the 'varada' in the right and the citron in the left. She is golden in complexion and rides the elephant. She wears a red lower garment.

The ceiling of the raṅgamaṇḍapa, Vimala vasahī, contains a standing sculpture of this goddess. The elephant is shown as her vāhana. She carries the goad in the right upper hand, the rosary in the right lower, the 'vajra' in the left upper and the citron in the left lower.

A sculpture in the corresponding ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī temple, built by Tejaḥpāla at Ābu, contains another representation of Vajrāṅkuśī standing with the elephant as her vāhana. The citron in the Vimala vasahī figure is here replaced by the water-pot while the rest of the symbols remain unchanged.

A beautiful sculpture of Vajrāṅkuśī sitting in the 'lalita' pose with the elephant as her vāhana is preserved in a ceiling of the Vimala vasahī containing representations of Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Prajñapti and Cakreśvarī in one group. The goddess carries the goad and the 'vajra' in her right and the left upper hands respectively, the left lower hand holds the 'kalaśa' as in the Lūṇa vasahī figure, while the right lower one shows the 'varada mudrā'. A male attendant stands on each side of the goddess. The figure is a good example of the art of the period (1088 V. S.).

The above sculpture may be compared with a later figure from the same temple, carved on the door-frame of a smaller cell (no. 40) containing an inscription dated 1373 V. S. (1321 A. D.). The goddess here shows the rosary and the pot in the right and the left lower hands respectively while the rest of the symbols as also the vāhana remain unchanged.

In the Kharataravasahī, Ābu, are two more figures of this goddess, one in the standing and the other in the sitting posture. Both represent the same form and hold the goad and the 'vajra' in the right and the left upper hands while showing the 'varada' and the citron in the corresponding lower ones. The elephant is the vāhana.

A peculiar four-armed figure is carved on a pillar in the Lūṇa vasahī,

Dilawārā, Ābu. Here a goddess stands in the tribhaṅga with the elephant vehicle by her side and carries the goad and the chain in the right and the left upper hands respectively. Her right lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower is mutilated. Obviously, the chain in the left upper hand is due to the preceding Mahā-vidyā Vajraśṛṅkhalā and instead of a simple 'vajra', the artist erroneously carved a 'vajraśṛṅkhalā'. The figure should be recognised as representing the fourth Mahā-vidyā Vajrāṅkuśī.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī, amongst the group of sixteen six-armed Mahā-vidyās, is a figure of Vajrāṅkuśī carrying the 'vajra' in the uppermost right hand and the goad in the corresponding left. The right lowermost shows the 'varada' while the corresponding left shows the 'abhaya mudrā'. The central pair of hands shows the 'jñāna mudrā'.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[78] referring to this form, says that the deity holds the 'vajra', the goad, the spear and such other weapons in her many hands. Golden in complexion and fierce in appearance, the goddess is called 'Mahā-Vajrāṅkuśī' when represented in this form.

Vajrāṅkuśī accompanies Vajratārā in Buddhism. She is also the gate-keeper of the Lokanātha-maṇḍala. The deity is said to carry the 'Vajrāṅkuśa (goad surmounted by Vajra) and the 'utpala' in her hands.[79]

In Buddhist iconography, Vajrāṇkuśa originally signified Aṅkuśa surmounted by Vajra. Such a representation is not found amongst the figures of the Jaina Vajrāṅkuśī discovered hitherto.

But the symbols of Vajrāṅkuśī remarkably agree with those of 'Rambhā', a form of Gaurī of the Brahmanical texts, who, according to Rūpamaṇḍana carries the 'kamaṇḍalu', the rosary, the 'vajra' and the goad. The elephant is her vāhana. The Brahmanical Mātṛkā 'Aindrī', the female energy of Indra also carries the same symbols and rides the elephant, according to the Devīpurāṇa.[79]

APRATICAKRA (SVE) OR JAMBUNADA (DIG) : THE FIFTH MAHAVIDYA

The fifth Vidyādevī is known as 'Apraticakrā', 'Cakreśvarī' or 'Cakradharā' in Śvetāmbara tradition. In the Digambara tradition,

however, the fifth place is occupied by a goddess called 'Jāmbunadā' holding an altogether different set of symbols.

A. APRATICAKRA

The Śvetāmbara designation of the fifth Vidyādevī is derived from her chief distinguishing symbol, the 'cakra'.[80] Her name reminds us of the yaksinī of Ṛṣabhanātha, who is also called Cakreśvarī and who shows the disc and the eagle vehicle in the same way as this Vidyādevī.

Cakreśvarī vidyā is known to have two principal varieties of form : (1) the four-armed and (2) the multi-armed. Of the two-armed form no definite evidence is forthcoming, but its existence in earlier traditions seems highly probable, and the not altogether full descriptions in the Ācāradinakara,[81] the Śobhanastuti[82] or the Caturviṃśatikā of Bappabhaṭṭī[83] sūrī seem to refer to a two-armed variety only. The goddess is said to be golden in complexion, holding discs in her hands and riding the eagle.

I. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[84] specifically says that she holds discs in all the four hands. But here her colour is said to be white like lightening.

The Mantrādhirājakalpa[85] calls her 'Cakreśvarī' and gives the same symbols but adds that her body shows variegated colours ('vicitravarṇā'). Besides, the usual eagle vehicle is here replaced by a man. Her body is adorned with numerous ornaments.

The Chānī miniature representing this last named tradition shows her seated on a cushion, and as four-armed, carrying discs in all hands. She is, however, represented yellow in complexion, and wearing a bodice of green colour and a white garment with black designs.

The Vimala vasahī contains a standing image of the goddess along with the other vidyādevīs in the ceiling of the raṅgamaṇḍapa. Apraticakrā here stands in the 'tribhaṅga' and is four-armed. The two upper hands show the disc while the left lower carries the citron. The right lower hand is mutilated. Near her right foot is her vāhana, the eagle.

Another figure from a ceiling in the same temple represents her seated in 'lalitāsana' on an eagle, and holding the same symbols. Her right

lower hand here exhibits the 'varada mudrā'. The ceiling contains, besides this figure, representations of Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Prajñapti, seated in each corner and having a small open lotus in its centre. The 'varada' symbol of Apraticakrā in this figure suggests that the mutilated hand of the standing Apraticakrā in the raṅgamaṇḍapa ceiling of this temple also showed the 'varada mudrā'. It may be noted that the eagle is represented like a human being. A similar figure of the goddess is carved once more in the same temple, in the ceiling in front of cell no. 24. A bronze figure of this Mahāvidyā seated upon a stool with a miniature figure of her vehicle on the left lower corner is preserved in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xaviers' College, Bombay. The figure can be assigned to c. the fifteenth century A. D. on stylistic grounds. Here the goddess carries the disc in her two upper hands and shows the rosary and the citron in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The bronze appears to be a product of Gujarātī art and probably belongs to the Śvetāmbara sect. In the absence of a Tīrthaṅkara figure overhead, the figure may be recognised as the Apraticakrā Mahā-vidyā, and the fact that the 'varada mudrā' of the Vimala vasahī figures is here replaced by the rosary need not hamper us for, such variations are often met with in figures of other Jaina deities.

In the Lūna vasahī, Ābu, four goddesses are carved in one ceiling and arranged on the four hands of a double cross; the central portion of this cross is occupied by a small lotus design while the four corners of the ceiling (or the four sections formed by this cross) are occupied by bigger lotus designs. These four goddesses offer a difficult problem as all these admit of a double identification, one as a vidyādevī and the other as a yakṣiṇī. Two of them are four-armed and can be identified as Apraticakrā vidyā or Cakreśvarī yakṣī and the other as Mānavī vidyā or Dhāriṇī yakṣī. The two other goddesses are six-armed each, one may be Mānasī vidyā or Balā yakṣī while the other may be Gaurī vidyā or the Kandarpā yakṣī.

One figure from this group represents a goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose on a stool in front of which is the eagle vehicle represented as a

human being. The right lower hand of the goddess, held as in the 'abhaya mudrā', carries a rosary while the left lower holds the citron. In the Bombay bronze discussed above, the same symbols are shown with the difference that the right lower hand, carrying the rosary is held as in the 'varada mudrā'. The palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭī-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra preserved in the Saṅghavī pāḍā Bhāṇḍāra, Pāṭan, assignable to c. 1350 A. D., contains a miniature of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī showing the two discs, the 'varada mudra', and the citron in her four hands. But similarity of titles of the yakṣī and the vidyādevī Cakreśvarī has resulted in an interchange of symbols of the two deities and the symbols in an earlier figure of this vidyādevī are found in a later figure of the yakṣiṇī and 'vice versa'[86]. Hence it would be better to regard this earlier form as that of the vidyādevī Apraticakrā. In the age of the Lūṇa vasahī although the different sets of yakṣiṇīs were already evolved, the earlier practice of carving a two-armed Kubera-like yakṣa and the two-armed Ambikā as attendants of almost all the Tīrthaṅkaras was more popular, and it seems that the Cakreśvarī yakṣiṇī carried the conch instead of the citron held by the vidyādevī. It would therefore be advisable to regard all these four figures of the Lūṇa vasahī as representing the vidyādevīs until further evidence to the contrary is brought to light.

The Kharataravasahī in the same group of temples, built in c. the fifteenth century A. D., has two representations of this Mahā-vidyā ; the first is in a standing posture and shows discs in the two upper hands and the 'varada' and the conch in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The second in a sitting posture, carries the 'cakra' and the 'gadā' in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the rosary and the conch in the corresponding lower ones. These forms occur in earlier representations of the 'yakṣī' Cakreśvarī at Prabhāsa Pāṭan (Saurāṣṭra) and elsewhere but here they should be regarded as representing the Apraticakrā vidyā inasmuch as they are given amongst the sets of vidyādevīs.

Another sculpture of Cakreśvarī from one of the corridor ceilings of the Vimala vasahī, in front of cell no. 24 is a later addition as is obvious from the style of the carving. The goddess here shows the conch instead of the fruit held by other figures of the Apraticakrā vidyā

in the Vimala vasahī. It is difficult to say whether this figure represented a vidyādevī or a yakṣiṇī although on the evidence of the Kharataravasahī one would be tempted to take her as a vidyādevī. This shows how difficult it is to identify Jaina sculptures especially when they are without inscriptions or found separated from context or group.

A standing figure of a four-armed Cakreśvarī preserved in a niche in a temple in Pāṭana, North Gujarāt, is interesting. The goddess stands in the 'tribhaṅga' and carries the 'cakra' in each of her four hands. A miniature figure of a Jina is placed on the top of the sculpture. The vāhana is missing. The symbols held by this figure agree with the dhyānas of the Cakreśvarī vidyā known from Śvetāmbara works. But the miniature figure of the Jina over the head of the goddess would suggest that the figure was intended to be worshipped as the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Being a later figure, belonging to an age when mutual borrowings of the forms of Cakreśvarī yakṣī and Cakreśvarī vidyā, mostly due to oversight or ignorance, had already set in it is difficult to give a correct label to this figure. But the form certainly represents the vidyādevī, whatever the intention of the sculptor might have been.

II. Six-Armed Variety. The ceiling in front of cell no. 41, referred to above, also contains a representation of the Mahā-vidyā Apraticakrā. The devī here shows the discs in the uppermost pair of hands and the 'pravacana (jñāna or vyākhyāna) mudrā' in the middle pair. Her third right hand is held in the 'varada' pose while the corresponding left carries the conch. It must be remembered that this group of vidyādevīs does not represent the same tradition or belong to the same age as the main group of four-armed standing vidyās in the sabhāmaṇḍapa-dome of the Vimala vasahī.

Another six-armed figure of the vidyādevī is represented in the famous Caturmukha shrine at Rāṇakpur, Jodhpur state. Here the goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool and carries the disc in each hand. A miniature figure of the eagle vehicle is seen below her left leg. Although no dhyāna for this form is available, the evidence of four-armed Apraticakrāvidyā (with discs in all hands), given by the Nirvāṇakalikā and other texts, makes it quite easy to recognise her as the Mahā-vidyā Apraticakrā or Cakreśvarī.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[87] describes a multi-armed form, shining like gold and holding discs of dazzling brilliance, a bolt and such other weapons (not specified in the text) in her many hands.

A palm-leaf manuscript of the Ṛṣabhadeva-caritra of Varddhamāna ācārya, copied in Saṃvat 1189 (A. D. 1131-33) in Prahlādanapura (modern Pālanapur), is now preserved in the Saṃgha-Bhāṇḍāra, Pātan. It contains a well-preserved miniature of an eighteen-armed goddess[88] sitting upon a full-blown lotus with a small figure of the eagle vehicle painted on her right. She shows in her right hands, beginning from the topmost hand, the 'cakra', the arrow, the goad, the lotus, the sword, the 'vajra', an indistinct symbol ('śakti' ?), the 'varada' and 'pravacana mudrās' In a corresponding order are shown in her left hands, the 'cakra', the bow, the noose, the pestle, the shield, the conch, the axe, the trident and the 'abhaya mudrā'. Obviously she represents a multi-armed Cakreśvarī. Being a book-illustration of the life of Ṛṣabhanātha whose attendant yakṣī is called Cakreśvarī, one would expect to find a miniature of the 'yakṣī' Cakreśvarī. But no dhyāna of the said 'yakṣī' is known whereas the figure agrees with the dhyāna of the multi-armed 'vidyādevī' Apraticakrā given by the Nirvāṇakalikā. It seems that both the yakṣī and the vidyādevī Cakreśvarī were at this stage regarded as one and the same deity. It is also possible that the Cakreśvarī vidyā was represented here with full knowledge of her forms, for the evidence of the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniatures discussed here shows that such departures were not unusual.

The iconographic peculiarities of the Cakreśvarī vidyā discussed above, especially of her four-armed forms, may be compared with those of the Brāhmanical goddess Vaiṣṇavī who also holds the 'cakra' and rides the eagle. In fact one can easily make mistakes by labelling the one for the other as has already been done by Professor Vogel when he identified the Mathurā museum image[89] of Cakreśvarī as Vaiṣṇavī.

B. JAMBUNADA

The Digambara traditions give two forms for the fifth Vidyādevī and calls her Jāmbunadā. She is either (1) two-armed or (2) four-

armed, and usually rides the peacock. The goddess is called Jāmbunadā probably because she looks like 'jāmbunada' or gold.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to Āśādhara[90] Jāmbunadā holds the sword and the spear in her hands and rides the peacock. Śubhacandra also gives the same symbols in his Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā. She is golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to Nemicandra, the author of Pratiṣṭhātilaka,[91] the goddess holds the 'khaḍga', the spear, the lotus and the citron in her four hands. Vasunandi also refers to a four armed form, but instead of mentioning all the four weapons, gives only one, namely, the sword. According to this authority, the devī is golden in complexion. Although not specified, the peacock may be taken as her vāhana in all varieties of forms.

NARADATTA OR PURUSADATTA : THE SIXTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the Jaina sects address the sixth Vidyādevī as Puruṣadattā or Naradattā, but show different symbols in her hands. It may however be noted that the yakṣiṇī of Sumatinātha bears the same name in the Digambara pantheon. The yakṣiṇī of Munisuvrata in the Śvetāmbara tradition is also known as Naradattā. In both cases the symbols differ from those held by the Vidyādevī Naradattā. Hemacandra's explanation of her name is not convincing.[92]

Puruṣadattā is described as two-armed, four-armed and multi-armed according to the Jain texts.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Śobhana muni[93] describes her as holding the sword and the shield. Her fierce laughter and the dazzling beauty of form are also emphasized. Ācāradinakara[94] following this tradition adds that the goddess is white in complexion and rides a buffalo which is as black as the cloud. The author calls her 'Puruṣāgradattā'. Bappabhaṭṭī sūrī[95] differs in assigning to her a golden complexion.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara[96], Puruṣadattā is white, holds the 'vajra' and the lotus and rides a ruddy goose (cakravāka). Śubhacandra agrees with Āśādhara.

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[97] Puruṣadattā is golden in appearance, rides a she-buffalo and shows the

'varada' and the sword in the two right hands and the citron and the shield in the two left ones.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa,[98] Naradattā sits on a red lotus and shows in her four hands the sword, the shield, the citron and the 'abhaya mudrā'. She shines like gold.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, Puruṣadattā is golden in complexion, and holds the sword and the shield in the right and the left upper hands respectively. The second right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower carries the citron. The goddess wears a red garment and rides a buffalo. The form agrees with the description as found in the Nirvāṇakalikā.

The Digambara text Pratiṣṭhātilaka[99] mentions the 'vajra', the lotus, the conch, and the fruit as the symbols held by the goddess in her four hands.

A standing figure of the goddess is found amongst the group of vidyādevīs in the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī. The devī stands in the 'tribhaṅga' pose and carries the lotus in each of the two upper hands, and the rosary and the pot in the right and the left lower ones respectively. The buffalo vehicle helps us to identify her as Puruṣadattā from the whole group of sixteen vidyādevīs. It has not been possible, however, to discover the dhyāna for a form with these symbols. A similar form is also shown in the Luṇavasahī set. The identifications are tentative.

Nor is it possible to obtain a dhyāna for the form of Puruṣadattā represented in the standing and the sitting attitude in the two sets of the Kharataravasahī, Ābu. Here the goddess shows the 'vajra' in the right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, the 'varada' in the right lower and the citron in the left lower. The vāhana is indistinct and looks like a buffalo. Since the vidyādevīs in these sets are arranged in the usual order given in all lists, the figures unmistakably represent the Mahāvidyā Puruṣadattā.

III. Six-Armed Variety. All the goddesses in the group represented in front of the cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī, referred to above, cannot be identified since they are neither arranged in the order of the lists available in Śvetāmbara texts nor are the vāhanas represented with any of them.

Again, a comparison with the bigger set in the sabhāmaṇḍapa of this temple shows that this group represents a later and different tradition. However, the existence of a six-armed variety is attested by this group, and if a comparison with the four armed image discussed above is made the goddess carrying the lotuses in the uppermost pair of hands and showing the 'jñāna mudrā' with the middle pair, the 'varada' with the right lowermost hand and the citron with the corresponding left, may be identified as a six-armed form of Naradattā Mahā·vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the description in the Nirvāṇakalikā,[100] the goddess is golden in complexion, wears a white garment and holds numerous missiles in her many arms. The dhyāna shows that the goddess was conceived to be more powerful with numerous hands and weapons.

A sixteen-armed figure of a goddess with the buffalo as her vāhana is represented in a ceiling in the corridor of the Vimala vasahī. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose on a raised seat and is attended upon by a standing female fly-whisk-bearer on each side. On three sides of this big panel are some miniature figures including the eight 'mātṛkās', Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. Some of the hands of the goddess are mutilated but the noose, the sword, the citron and the rosary can be recognised in her right hands while the pestle, the shield, the mace and the pot of nectar are still visible in the left ones.

It is difficult to identify such multi-armed figures of the Jaina pantheons when symbols of some of the hands are mutilated and when the literary texts do not mention the number of arms or all the symbols shown by the deity. The buffalo vehicle of Puruṣadattā is our chief guide in this case. Again, the sword and the shield symbols held by this figure are the chief recognising symbols of Puruṣadattā. Bappabhaṭṭī who supplies the oldest set of dhyānas for these vidyādevīs refers to these symbols held by Puruṣadattā.

Puruṣadattā, it may be remembered, is difficult to identify in the main set of four-armed vidyās in the Vimala vasahī. The goddess with the buffalo vāhana does not carry the sword and the shield. But in this case at least we can sefely recognise a sixteen-armed form of Puruṣadattā.

It seems that this form of the goddess was known as Mahā-

puruṣadattā. The Āvaśyaka-Niryukti says that a Vidyā-siddha is one who has mastery over all the vidyās. But one who has propitiated even one Mahā-vidyā is called Vidyā-siddha, as was Ārya Khapuṭācārya. Haribhadra sūrī, commenting on this verse, says that Mahā-vidyās like 'Mahā-puruṣadattā' are meant.[101] Thus Mahā-Puruṣadattā was one of the most ancient and powerful of the Tāntric deities.

Mahā-Puruṣadattā offers comparison with the Brāhmanical goddess Durgā who is also associated with the buffalo and who carries numerous weapons like the sword, the shield, etc. Of the nine Durgās described by the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, from an earlier text, Skanda-yāmala, eight, namely, 'Rudra-caṇḍā', 'Pracaṇḍā', 'Caṇḍogrā', 'Caṇḍa-nayikā', 'Caṇḍā', 'Caṇḍavatī', 'Ati-caṇḍikā' and 'Ugra-caṇḍikā', each one has sixteen arms.[102] Durgā and Kātyāyanī are two of the most ancient Indian goddesses and are referred to in the Jaina text Anuyoga-dvāra-sūtra[103] and its cūrṇi.

KALI : THE SEVENTH MAHAVIDYA

The seventh Vidyādevī is called Kālī according to both the sects. Hemacandra explaining the epithet says that she is so called because of her dark complexion.[104]

The yakṣī of Abhinandana amongst the Śvetāmbaras and the yakṣī of Supārśvanātha amongst the Digambaras are both called Kālī, but they hold a different set of symbols. It may be noted, however, that the vāhana of the Śvetāmbara yakṣī (Kālī) and the Vidyādevī Kālī remain the same. But while the Śvetāmbara vidyādevī Kālī holds the club, the yakṣī Kālī does not show it, and thus they are distinguished.

Kālī is represented chiefly as follows : (i) two-armed, (ii) four-armed and (iii) multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī sūrī[105] describes her as sitting on a lotus and holding the club and the rosary. She is said to be as dark as collyrium. Śobhana muni also emphasising her excessive or deep dark colour, gives the same symbols.[106]

According to the Ācāradinakara [107] the goddess shines like the sky which is free from autumnal clouds, and rests on a full blown lotus. The description suggests her colour as sky-blue.

According to the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra[108] the Vidyādevl is golden in complexion and holds the pestle and the sword. The deer is her vāhana. Śubhacandra also agrees, though he refers only to the sword symbol. She is said to protect the world and remove all obstacles.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[109] says that Kālī is black in colour. She rests on a lotus and shows the rosary and the mace in her two right hands, and the 'vajra' and the 'abhaya' in the two left ones.

The Mantrādhirājakalpa[110] describes her as showing the trident, the rosary, the 'varada mudrā' and the club. The colour and the vāhana of the goddess remain unchanged.

According to the Digambara tradition as embodied in the Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka[111] Kālī carries the pestle, the sword, the lotus and the fruit.

The Chāṇī miniature represents her as holding the dart (śakti') and the trident in the right and the left upper hands, while the lower ones show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' respectively. Golden in appearance, she sits on a lotus ane wears garments of sky-blue colour.

The Vimala vasahī group of vidyādevīs also contains a figure of this goddess. Kālī is here standing in the "tribhaṅga" with the lotus and the book held in the right and the left upper hands respectively. The right lower hand held the 'gadā' (mace) while the corresponding left is mutilated. A female attendant stands on each side of the goddess while the lotus, as her cognizance, is shown towards her left. No dhyāna supporting the book symbol is available, but the recognition symbol of the mace and the lotus cognizance leave no doubts regarding her identification, in so far as the Śvetāmbara sect is concerned.

A figure of the goddess is also carved in the ceiling of the main maṇḍapa of the Lūṇa vasahī, Ābu. Here she carries the lotus and the book in the right and the left upper hands respectively and holds the mace and the pot with the corresponding lower ones. The lotus, symbolising her seat, is shown beside her left leg

A very crude figure in the same ceiling also seems to represent the Kālī vidyā. Here the pot in the left lower hand is replaced by the 'abhaya mudrā' while other symbols remain unchanged.



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Both the standing and the sitting figures of the Kālī vidyā show a different set of symbols in the Kharataravasahī. Here the vidyā carries the 'vajra' in each of the two upper hands and the mace in the left lower. She shows the 'varada mudrā' with the right lower hand and has the lotus as her cognizance.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. In her multi-armed form, Kālī is black like collyrium, and holds, according to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[112] the club, and such other weapons in her hands.

The name of this yakṣī reminds one of the goddess Kālī of the Brāhmanical pantheon. She is the first in the list of the ten Hindu Mahā-vidyās. Terrific in appearance, she stands on a corpse and shows symbols different from those held by the Jain vidyā of the same name.[113] Kālī is included in the Jain lists of sixty-four yoginīs given by the Ācāradinakara and the Vidhiprapā.[114] The Digambara text Jvālinī-kalpa ascribed to Indranandi includes Kālī amongst female 'grahas'. 'Ṛṣimaṇḍala-yantras' of both the sects invoke a goddess Kālī in a group of twenty-four Mahā-devīs including Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛtī, Gaurī, Caṇḍī, Sarasvatī, Jayā, Ambā, Vijayā, Klinnā, Nityā, and others.[115] Haribhadra sūri refers to a penance in honour of a goddess Kālī [116]

MAHAKALI : THE EIGHTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the sects agree in addressing the eighth Vidyādevī as Mahākālī. She is not to be confounded with the Śvetāmbara yakṣiṇī of Sumatinātha and the Digambara yakṣiṇī of Suvidhinātha. Although all the three have the same name, they are nevertheless different deities since they have different sets of symbols.

It may be noted that in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, Mahākālī[117] always has a man as her vāhana and that the bell seems to be her chief recognition symbol.

Mahākālī is represented in two principal varieties of forms : (1) four-armed variety and (2) multi-armed variety.

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī sūrī[118] describes her as black in complexion and as holding the 'vajra', the fruit, the bell and the rosary in her four hands. The Devī has the man-vehicle. Both Śobhana muni[119]

and Varddhamāna sūrī[119] describe this very form. But she is white according to the latter authority.

The Nirvāṇakalikā[120] says that Mahākālī is black like the 'tamāla'-tree and holds the rosary, and the 'vajra' in her two right hands. In the two left ones she shows the 'abhaya' and the bell. The vāhana remains unchanged.

Sāgarcandra, in his Mantrādhirājakalpa,[121] gives the lotus (?), the rosary, the 'varada' and the bell in her four hands. The vāhana remains the same.

In the Digambara tradition, represented by Āśādhara,[122] she is black in colour and holds the bow, the 'khaḍga', the fruit and the arrow. She is said to ride the 'śarabha' (fabulous animal).

In the Prathiṣthātilaka[123] also she is said to carry the same set of symbols, but her vāhana is not specified.

Śubhacandra says that the goddess rides the 'aṣṭāpada' (eight-footed animal). Black in complexion, she holds the sword and the bow in her hands. The text of Śubhacandra's Sārasvata-yantra-pujā[124] is corrupt, and it is difficult to know whether the author refers to a two-armed variety or a four-armed one.

The Chāṇī miniature represents her as black in complexion and as holding the 'vajra' and the bell in the right and the left upper hands. The right lower exhibits the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower carries the citron. She wears a red garment and has the man as her vāhana. The Vimala vasahī group of four-armed vidyās shows only one goddess carrying the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' who has to be recognised as Manasī on account of her swan vehicle. Another goddess with the ram vehicle carries the 'vajra' in each of the two upper hands and the rosary and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones. It is just possible that the artist placed through oversight the 'vajra' instead of the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in one of the two upper hands. Again the ram vāhana presents a difficulty.

This figure can also be recognised as Gāndhārī, the tenth Mahāvidyā, since she carries the 'vajra'. But the vāhana presents the same difficulty.

Several figures of this goddess are in the group of temples at Kumbhāriā, Dāntā state. One of them, from a pillar in the Mahāvīra

temple, shows the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā, in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the 'varada mudrā' and the citron (?) in the corresponding lower ones. A human figure lying in the left corner is noteworthy.

Another image of Mahākālī is found at Pāṭan. The goddess sits in 'lalitāsana' on a human figure lying under her left foot and carries the rosary and the bell in her two upper hands and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the citron in the two lower ones.

In the Kharataravasahī, Ābu, are two representations of the goddess Mahākālī, one in a standing and the other in a sitting posture. Both exemplify the same tradition and carry the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' (bell surmounted by a vajra) in the right and the left upper hands respectively and show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya mudrās' with the corresponding lower hands. A male figure is shown as the vāhana in each case.

II. Six-Armed Variety. That a six-armed variety for each of the Mahā-vidyās existed is obvious from the set of sixteen goddesses in the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, of which some can be definitely identified as vidyādevīs. Mahā-Kālī, however, is difficult to recognise in this set. On the analogy of the Chāṇī miniature and the Kharataravasahī figure discussed above, a goddess in this set has claims for being identified as Mahā-kālī. This figure shows the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in the two uppermost hands, the 'jñāna mudrā' in the middle ones, and the 'varada' and the citron in the last pair of hands. But she can as well be identified as Mānasī vidyā on the analogy of a figure discussed below.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[125] Mahākālī holds the 'vajra' and such other weapons in her numerous hands. Her body shines like the Atasī-flower.

This form of Mahākālī may be compared with the Kālī of the Brāhmanical pantheon.[126] Both are black in colour. The figure of Śiva lying prostrate under the feet of the Hindu Kālī seems to have been transformed into the vāhana of the Jaina Mahākālī. The Pāṭan image of the Jaina Mahākālī vidyā, discussed above, actually represents her human vāhana lying prostrate below her left leg.

GAURI : THE NINTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the sects agree in naming the ninth Vidyādevī as Gaurī. A different Gaurī attends upon the Tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṃsanātha in the Digambara pantheon. Gaurī is so called because she is white ('gaura') in complexion according to the explanation offered by Hemacandra.[127]

Gaurī is described in three forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed. Her chief recognition symbol is the lotus and she moves on the alligator (godhā). It is not difficult to recognise her if these two are present.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Jaina texts do not specifically mention her as two-armed. But the verses addressed to her by Śobhana, Bappabhaṭṭī[128] and others suggest a two-armed form. (Earlier authorities like Bappabhaṭṭī usually invoke two-armed forms of all Vidyadevīs in their works.) Besides, both Śobhana[129] and Bappabhaṭṭī refer to her lotus symbol alone. The devī may have held the lotus in both her hands. Gaurī is further described as golden in complexion, and as riding on the alligator. It is noteworthy that Bappabhaṭṭī calls her 'hasti-kāyā', or of a size as immense as that of an elephant. The Ācāradinakara[129] gives a similar description but calls her white in complexion.

Digambara texts like Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the Pratiṣṭhātilaka[130] and the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā also refer only to the lotus symbol, and give the same vāhana. She is called golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[131] says that Gaurī shines like gold, rides on a 'godhā', and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the pestle in her two right hands, and the rosary and the lotus in the two left ones.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa,[132] she rides a bull. Shining like heated gold, Gaurī shows the lotus, the rosary, the 'varada mudrā' and the staff in her four hands.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf minature Gaurī is shown as golden in complexion, and as sitting on the 'godhā' represented here as a lizard. She wears a red garment. She holds the pestle and the lotus in the right and the left upper hands, while the lower pair of hands show the 'varada mudrā'.

The Vimala vasahī set contains a different form of the goddess.

Here a goddess is represented as standing and four-armed with lotuses in the upper pair of hands, and the rosary and the 'kalaśa' in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The figure of a buffalo is represented as the vāhana. The buffalo is not known as the vāhana of Gaurī in Śvetāmbara texts, but the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa gives the bull vehicle instead of the crocodile. In our figure the vāhana looks more like a buffalo than like a bull. But the lotuses and the rosary are familiar symbols of Gaurī.

The buffalo is the vāhana of Puruṣadattā who holds the sword and the shield in two hands, according to the texts. In this set there is no goddess carrying the sword and the shield who can be recognised as Naradattā or Puruṣadattā. Hence the image discussed above can also be taken as Puruṣadattā with a new set of symbols.

There is another figure in this set with an ass-like creature as her vāhana who shows the rosary and the fruit in her two lower hands. The symbols of the two upper hands cannot be properly identified but on comparison with the lotuses in the hands of an image discussed below, they might be taken as lotuses. In that case the figure can be identified as Gaurī with the ass vehicle instead of the usual 'godhā'. Gaurī is the female energy of Śiva in the Brāhmanical pantheon and Kālarātri, one of the forms of Durgā, is known to ride the ass.[133] It may be remembered that there is no goddess with the 'godhā' vāhana in this set.

The Tejaḥpāla-temple has a beautiful figure of a female deity on one side of the steps leading to the smaller 'maṇḍapa' adjoining the central shrine. The devī is standing in 'tribhaṅga' with a 'makara' as her vāhana. In her two upper hands are seen the noose and the lily while the right lower hand carries the rosary. The fourth symbol, partly mutilated, cannot be identified. The lily, the 'makara' (alligator) and the rosary show that this figure represents a different form of Gaurī vidyā.

Kandarpā or Pannagā, the yakṣiṇī of Dharmanātha, is said to have the big fish or the alligator as her vāhana. But she usually carries two lotuses and the goad in her hands.

Vasunandi, the Digambara writer refers to a four-armed form of this vidyā who is said to be golden in complexion and holding the lotus,

III. Six-Armed Variety. I: Kharataravasahī, only the standing figure of Gaurī is carved while sitting posture is missing. The goddess is here represented as six- with the lotus in the first two right hands (beginning from the top), and the bag (?) and the pot in the second and the third left hands. The third right and the first left hands show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' respectively.

In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās, there is a goddess carrying lotuses in the first pair of hands and showing the 'jñāna mudrā' in the middle pair. The right and the left lowest hands show the 'varada' and the citron. The figure possibly represents Gaurī.

An interesting six-armed figure of a goddess is preserved in the group of four devīs carved in one of the corridor ceilings of the Lūṇa vasahī. She sits in the 'lalita' pose with the composite figure of a 'makara-hasti' as her vāhana. The image discussed on p. 147 and recognised as Gaurī, has the same vāhana, but in this case the symbols held by the goddess are different. She carries a long bag holding its two ends with the two uppermost hands. The middle right holds a flame, the middle left a pot or a box, the third right hand carries the rosary while the corresponding left shows the citron. None of the symbols held by her can help one to identify her as the Mahā-vidyā Gaurī. She cannot be Pannagā yakṣī as she holds quite a different set of symbols and as the other three goddesses in this ceiling can be identified as Mānavī, Apraticakrā and Manasī vidyā, she should be recognised as one of the Mahā-vidyās. In that case she might be tentatively acknowledged as the Gaurī vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[133a] speaks of a multi-armed form with the same colour and vāhana, and holding in her many hands the lotus and such other symbols not specified in the text.

The Jaina Gaurī is similar to the Brāhmanical Gaurī, not only in name but also in form. According to Rūpamaṇḍana, all Brāhmanical forms of Gaurī are assigned four arms and the 'godhā' vehicle. Moreover the lotus is one of the chief symbols carried by various forms of Gaurī, such as, Umā, Gaurī and Sāvitrī. The rosary and the 'varada' frequently occur in the various forms of the Brāhmanical Gaurī.[134]

The Jainas were more generous than the Buddhists in their treatment

of Hindu deities, since the Brāhmanical Gaurī received scant courtesy in Buddhist worship. We find her in a different position under the feet of the Buddhist god Trailokyavijaya, along with her consort, Śiva.[135]

Gaurī is one of the four ancient Mahāvidyās according to the Jaina tradition given by Jinadāsa Mahattara and Haribhadra. Gaurī and Gāndhārī are also referred to in the Bṛhat Kalpa-Bhāṣya. It is interesting to find that the Niśīth.. uddeśa 16, Bhāṣya verse 63, refers to Ratnadevatā, Śucividyās and Mātaṅgavidyās named Gaurī and Gāndhārī. Thus both Gaurī and Gāndhārī are assigned to the vidyās of Mātaṅga and, therefore belong to the class of Cāṇḍālīvidyās. This would suggest the original source of worship of the two most ancient female divinities, Gaurī and Gāndhārī. Of these, the first is well known in the Hindu pantheon as the śakti or the wife of Śiva whose worship is generally supposed to belong to the non-Aryan masses of ancient India. Mātaṅgī and Cāṇḍālī belong to the Śaivite Tantra.

The second Aṅga of the Jaina canon, known as the 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', includes amongst 'pāpaśrutas' or sinful sciences vidyās like Kāliṅgī, Dāmilī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Śvapākī, Vetālī and others. This is noteworthy in as much as it establishes both the antiqutiy and the non-Jaina and possibly non-Aryan origin of both Gaurī and Gāndhārī.

GANDHARI : THE TENTH MAHAVIDYA

Gāndhārī, according to Hemacandra, is so called because she supports the earth.[136] A commentary on Śobhana-stuti explains the name differently and says that Gāndhārī is so called because she was born in Gandhāra in her previous existence.[137] This may also suggest that the worship of this deity originated in Gandhāra.

Both the sects address this Vidyādevī as Gāndhārī. It may however be noted that the Śvetāmbara yakṣī of Neminātha and the Digambara yakṣī of Vāsupujya are also known as Gāndhārī, but the symbols differ widely in all cases.

This vidyā seems to have been worshipped principally in three varieties of forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Varietv. According to Bappabhaṭṭī sūri,[138] Śobhana muni and the author of the Ācāradinakara,[139] Gāndhārī holds the 'vajra' and

the pestle in her two hands, and sits on the lotus. The goddess is said to be dark-blue in complexion.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara, Nemicandra as well as Śubhacandra,[140] Gāndhārī is dark-blue in complexion, rides a tortoise and holds the disc and the sword in her two hands.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[141] says that Gāndhārī is dark-blue in complexion and sits on the lotus. She is four-armed, and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the pestle in her two right hands and the 'abhaya' and the 'vajra' in the two left ones.

According to Mantrādhirājakalpa,[142] she shows the trident, the staff, the 'abhaya' and the 'varada' in her four hands. She is black in appearance and sits on the lotus.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, Gāndhārī holds the pestle and the 'vajra' in the right and the left upper hands, while the two lower ones exhibit the 'varada mudrā'. She is indigo-coloured, and has the lotus as her seat.

In the Vimala vasahī, a goddess is represented as standing and as four-armed. She carries the 'vajra' in the two upper hands and the rosary and the citron in the right and the left lower ones respectively. A ram-like creature is shown as her vāhana. It would seem that this figure represents Gāndhārī with a different vāhana, the 'vajra' in the two upper hands suggesting that the form agrees partly with the dhyānas of Nirvāṇalikā and other texts. Now Bappabhaṭṭī supplying the earliest dhyāna gives the 'vajra' and the pestle in her two hands. Thus another figure in this set showing the pestle in the right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, the rosary in the right lower and the citron in the left lower can also be suggested as representing Gāndhārī. Besides, the lotus, recognised by all texts, is shown as her cognizance. The identification is tentative.

In the Kharataravasahī sets, Gāndhārī carries the trident and the 'v jra' in the right and the left upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the fruit in the corresponding lower ones. The lotus is her cognizance.

A figure of Gāndhārī is represented on a loose door-frame lying in one of the Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā. Here the devī sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose and carries the 'vajra' in the right upper hand,

and the pestle in the left lower. In her left upper hand she carries an object which seems to represent the leaf of a tree while the right lower hand is held in the varada pose. The lotus is her cognizance.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās, Gāndhārī is difficult to recognise in the present state of our knowledge. No suggestions are possible. However, the existence of a six-armed form cannot be doubted.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[143] Gāndhārī is green and holds the 'vajra', the pestle, and numerous other weapons in her many hands.

Gāndhārī, as already noted in the preceding pages, has been referred to by Jinadāsa, and Haribhadra amongst the four Mahā-vidyās. She seems to have been both ancient and popular as can be seen from the fact that 'Gaurī' and 'Gāndhārī' are included in the list of 'pāpaśrutas' by the Sūtrakṛtāṅga.

MAHAJVALA OR JVALAMALINI : THE ELEVENTH MAHAVIDYA

The eleventh Vidyādevī is known variously as 'Jvālā', 'Mahājvālā', 'Jvālānāyudhā', 'Sarvāstra-mahā-jvālā', 'Jvālā-mātṛ', or 'Jvālā-mālinī', amongst Jainas of both the sects. According to Hemacandra,[144] she is called Sarvāstra-mahā-jvālā because large flames of fire issue from all the weapons held by her. It can be seen however that all the names of the goddess are derived from 'jvālā' (flame). Both the sects unanimously invoke her as the eleventh Mahāvidyā with the difference that between them there is no agreement with regard to the forms and symbols. But it appears from the common epithet, and the repeated references to the goddess in Jaina Tāntric texts both of the Digambaras and of the Śvetāmbaras, that although there are differences between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara forms of the goddess, they nevertheless do not respresent different deities.

The yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha is also known as Jvālāmālinī in the Digambara tradition. The form of this yakṣī is similar to that of the Jvālāmālinī Vidyā amongst the Digambaras, the buffalo being common to both. Both hold several common symbols.

Helācārya is said to have composed a text (in Prākṛt) prescribing

different tāntric rites for Jvālāmālinī, the yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha, according to Īndranandi who says that his text of Jvālinī-kalpa (composed in Sanskṛt in Śaka 861) was based upon the latter's work.[145] Thus the worship of Jvālā-mālinī, the yakṣī, was not only ancient but also popular. However, the Jvālā-mālinī vidyā seems to be earlier than the yakṣiṇī of the same name in Jaina worship. Saṅghadāsa gaṇi, a Śvetāmbara writer who flourished in c. 500 A. D., refers to a vidyā called 'Mahā-jvālinī' or 'Jvālā-vatī' and describes her as 'sarva-vidyācchedinī', that is, powerful enough to uproot the rival schools or vidyās This also explains the terrific nature of the goddess.[146]

Īndranandi addresses the yakṣī as 'Jvālinī', 'Jvālā-mālā', 'Jvālānaśikhā', 'Śikhi-mad-devī' and 'Vahni-devī'. Now a goddess known as Vahni figures as the yakṣinī of Śreyāmsanātha in the temple no. 12 at Deogarh, U. P., where a set of different yakṣiṇīs is represented and where the yakṣiṇī of Chandraprabha is called 'Sumālinī'. Thus it is quite clear that the association of the name Jvāla-mālinī with the yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha was not universally acknowledged when the Deogarh set was carved and that very probably the Jvālinī vidyā is the predecessor and the prototype of Jvālā-mālinī, the yakṣinī.

Figures of Jvālā-mālinī Mahāvidyā are represented in four principal varieties of forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed, (3) eight-armed and (4) multi-armed. In the Digambara tradition, we find references to the eight-armed form alone ; it should also be noted that the Śvetāmbara texts do not specifically describe an eight-armed form. The 'jvālā' or flame of fire is her chief recognition symbol.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to the Ācāradinakara,[147] Jvālā is white in colour ; she rides a cat and carries the fire-brand in both the hands. Śobhana muni refers to her as white in complexion and slim at the waist. She is called 'Jvālānayudhā', wielder of blazing weapons.[148]

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Mantrādhirājakalpa of Sāgarcandra[149] describes a four-armed form of 'Mahā-jvālā'. When four-armed, she is white in complexion and holds a serpent in each of her four hands. The goose is her vāhana.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, she is white, wears yellow garments and rides a lion. In her right and left upper hands she holds

the trident and the lotus, while the two lower ones show the 'varada' and the citron respectively.

A standing figure of the goddess is to be seen in the Vimala vasahī group. A griffin-like creature, which probably stands for a cat, is her vāhana. She shows the flame of fire in the left upper hand and the rosary in the right lower one. The symbols of the remaining hands are mutilated beyond recognition. But she probably held the flame of fire in the right upper hand as can be inferred from the following figure.

This is found amongst the group of goddesses carved on a loose marble door-frame lying outside the Mahāvīra temple. The goddess here carries a vessel with flames in each of the two upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the citron in her right and the left lower hands. The deity sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool in front of which is carved the figure of a ferocious cat. From this it may be inferred that the Vimala vasahī figure discussed above also carried a fruit in the left lower hand.

It is difficult to identify Mahā-jvālā from the Kharataravasahī sets. Two figures of a goddess, in the standing and sitting postures, show the fish vāhana and the 'varada' and the fruit in the lower hands. Symbols of the upper pair of hands are indistinct.

III. Six-Armed Variety. It is also difficult to find out Mahā-jvālā from the circle of six-armed vidyādevīs in the corridor-ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī. But the existence of a six-armed variety cannot be disputed.

IV. Eight-Armed Variety. None of the Digambara texts gives all the eight symbols held by Jvālāmālinī, although they expressly address her as eight-armed. According to the Pratiṣṭhātilaka,[150] she holds the bow, the arrow and such other weapons and shines with flames. According to the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,[151] Jvālinī is white, carries the bow, the shield, the sword, the disc and such other weapons in her eight hands which look terrific. She rides the buffalo. Śubhacandra gives the same symbols and calls her Jvālāmālinī. Since the Digambara Yakṣī Jvālāmālinī also rides the buffalo and carries these symbols it is difficult to differentiate between the two.

V. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[152] gives two dhyānas

for this form but does not speak of any two or four-armed variety as is usual. As Sarvāstra-mahā-Jvālā, she is white, rides on a boar and wields innumerable weapons in her hands. Again she is invoked as Jvālā-Mātṛ, white in colour, and holding very terrific weapons like the blazing fire-brand, etc., in her numerous fierce-looking hands. Both the descriptions refer to one and the same variety of form.

Amongst the Buddhists, Ekajaṭā, an emanation of Akṣobhya, offers comparison with some of the peculiarities of the icons of the Jaina Jvālā-mālinī. Ekajaṭā is worshipped as having two, four, eight or twenty-four arms. In her last form, she is addressed as 'Vidyut-jvālākarālī' and holds the noose, the sword, the arrow, the disc, the 'vajra', the trident, the lotus, the banner, the axe and such other weapons. When eight-armed, Ekajaṭā carries the sword, the arrow, the 'vajra', the 'kartri', the bow, the lotus, the axe, and the skull in her hands. Ekajaṭā is terrific in appearance.[153]

A goddess Jvālā-mālinī is included in the list of the sixteen Nityās in the Brāhmanical Kaula-Tantras. In the Śarabha-Tantra she is described as twelve-armed showing the noose, the shield, the arrow, the trident, the lotus, the 'varada', the goad, the sword, the 'śakti', the bow and the 'abhaya' in her hands. She has six faces and 'shines like fire'.[154] It is also important to note that like the Jaina Jvālā-mālinī, one of the most ancient forms of Durgā, namely, Mahiṣamarddinī, has the buffalo associated with herself.

MANAVI : THE TWELFTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the sects call the twelfth Vidyādevī Mānavī. Mānavī is so called because she is (born) of Manu, according to the explanation offered by Hemachandra.[155] The Mantrādhirājakalpa calls her 'mānava-namya-pada-dvayā', one whose pair of feet is worshipped by human beings.

The yakṣī of Śreyāṃsanātha in the Śvetāmbara tradition and the yakṣī of Śītalanātha in the Digambara pantheon have also the same name. The Digambara yakṣī has the same vāhana as the Digambara vidyādevī Mānavī, and the same is the case in the Śvetāmbara tradition.

Mānavī, may be represented as : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed or (3) multi-armed. The tree appears to be the chief distinguishing symbol in the early Śvetāmbara tradition.



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I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī[156] says that she possesses a fine tree, and rests on a lotus. According to Śobhana muni, she is dark in colour, sits on the lotus, and holds the best tree full of foliage and fruits, in her hands. According to the Ācāradinakara, Mānavī is dark-blue in complexion, and carries a tree in her hand. She rests on the blue lotus.[157]

According to the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,[158] Mānavī is dark-blue, rides the hog, and carries the fish and the trident in her hands. Śubhacandra agrees with the description of the goddess.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[159] describes her as four armed and as black in complexion. She shows the 'varada' snd the noose in the two right hands, and the rosary and the tree in the two left. The goddess sits on a lotus.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa[160] Mānavī, when four armed is variegated in colour, and shows the tree, the rosary and the 'varada' in her hands. The fourth symbol is not mentioned, but may be another tree.

The Pratiṣṭhātilaka[161] gives the fish, the sword and the trident as her weapons. The fourth symbol is not mentioned. Vasunandi also refers to a four-armed form, but gives the trident symbol only. She is dark-blue in complexion. It is quite possible that she should show the trident in all her four hands. She is said to be dark-blue in complexion.

In the Chānī miniature, Mānavī is black, and holds a lotus like bunch—a tree—in each of the two upper hands ; the lower right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the lower left carries the rosary. Wearing a red garment she sits on a cushion and a lotus is shown as her vāhana.

In a corridor ceiling in the Tejaḥpāla temple (Lūṇa vasahī), Mānavī is represented together with three other vidyās. She holds the lotus in each of the two upper hands, her lower right hand, held in the 'abhaya mudrā', carries the rosary, while the corresponding left holds the 'kalaśa'. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool in front of which is shown the lotus cognizance of Mānavī.

The Vimala vasahī group also contains a figure of Mānavī in a standing posture. In her right lower hand she shows the rosary, while the left upper carries the trident. The remaining symbols are mutilated.

The lotus is shown as her vāhana. She is identified with the help of the Kharataravasahī sets discussed below.

In the Kharataravasahī sets Mānavī is placed after Mahāmānasī. She has the lotus as her cognizance, carries the rosary in the right upper hand, the lotus in the left upper, and shows the 'varada' and the pot in the corresponding lower ones.

III. Six-Armed Variety. It is difficult to identify Mānavī in the set of six-armed vidyādevīs in the Vimala vasahī. But the existence of such a form cannot be questioned.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. In the Nirvāṇakalikā,[162] Mānavī is given a terrific form which carries uprooted trees, and various other destructive weapons in her numerous hands. The colour of her body is emerald-green.

VAIROTYA : THE THIRTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

Vairoṭyā or Vairoṭī is the thirteenth Mahāvidyā according to both the sects. Hemacandra explains her name Vairoṭyā as one who is resorted to for the removal of enmity.[163]

The Digambara yakṣī of the thirteenth Jina is also called Vairoṭī. In all cases Vairoṭyā is a snake-goddess in Jainism and her iconography always retains this character. As a yakṣī, however, Vairoṭyā usually holds the arrow and the bow instead of the sword and the shield while the snake symbol is common to both the vidyādevī and the yakṣī Since the Mahāvidyās are relatively earlier in age than the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs in Jaina worship, it is likely that the yakṣī Vairoṭyā was modelled after the vidyādevī of the same name.

Vairoṭyā has been addressed as 'Dharaṇāgrimayoṣit',[164] or the chief queen of the snake-king Dharaṇendra. It is, however, surprising to find that she is omitted in the ancient lists of the chief queens of Dharaṇa given by the 'Bhagavatī sūtra' and the 'Sthānāṅga sūtra'.[165] But later texts associate her with Dharaṇa and the incident of Kamaṭha's attack on Pārśvanātha when she is said to have accompanied her lord Dharaṇa in the service of the Jina. She is obviously different from Padmāvatī who is also associated with Dharaṇendra as the latter's chief queen in the incident of Kamaṭha's 'upasargas'.

In earlier times she was probably more popular than now, and her position has been gradually usurped by the ever-growing popularity of Padmāvatī. A 'Vairoṭyā-stotra' attributed to Ārya Nandila or Ārya Ānandila sūrī is published[166] The Prabhāvaka-caritra and the Prabandha-kośa give a story of the previous existence of the snake-goddess Vairoṭyā : Vairoṭyā was married to Varadatta, the son of Padmatta and Padmayaśā. Unfortunately Vairoṭyā's father died in a forest conflagration from which date the poor lady was greatly harassed by her mother-in-law. Once upon a time Ārya Nandila sūrī came to the city and stayed in a park. Vairoṭyā, pregnant as she was, desired to taste 'pāyasa-anna' (milk and rice cooked together) but unfortunately could not satisfy her wish ('dohada') due to the evil nature of her mother-in-law. The learned Ācārya advised her to keep quiet and wait. Once when 'pāyasa' was prepared at home, Vairoṭyā concealed a portion of it in a pot and went out to fetch water. She placed the pot under the shade of a tree when the queen of the snake-king Aliṅgarā, desiring the same food, turned up and devoured the contents of the pot. She was satisfied and from that time onwards helped Vairoṭyā in various ways. Vairoṭyā could go to the Nāga-loka whenever she willed. At this, the Ācārya Ārya Nandila asked Vairoṭyā to request the Nāga-Kumāras to stop injuring human beings. The request was immediately granted. After death, Vairoṭyā was reborn as the chief queen os the Nāga-king Dharaṇendra and the great saint Ārya Nandila composed a new hymn addressed to Vairoṭyā. Whoever recites this hymn is freed from the danger of serpents.[167]

Such is the story of the origin of this goddess in the times cf Ārya Nandila in the second century A. D. Though this account is found in a later work, it is probable that the Jainas at Mathurā in the second century A. D., had incorporated some sort of Nāga-worship which was then popular in the city of Mathurā.

Vairoṭyā seems to have been worshipped in at least three principal varieties : two-armed, four-armed and multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī calls her addressing her as Vairoṭyā, the chief queen of Dharaṇa in one verse, and in another, he says that the deity carries the snake and the sword. Vairoṭyā is black in complexion and shines with snake ornaments.[168] It is interesting to note

that Bappabhaṭṭī refers to Vairoṭyā as one who pacified even the fiercest enemy. This reference, seen in the light of the later account noted above, clearly shows that the tradition represented by the Prabandha-kośa and the Prabhāvakacaritra was based upon an older account known also to Bappabhaṭṭī. Śobhana muni addresses a verse to 'the chief queen of snakes'. Dhanapāla, his brother, commenting on it, says that by this epithet Vairoṭyā in meant. Śobhana describes her as black in complexion and riding on the cobra. She wears snake-ornaments and carries the best sword in her hand. Encircled by the sweet-singing damsels of heaven, Vairoṭyā of dark curly hair is invoked for protection from obstacles.[169]

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[170] describes her as holding the snake and the shield in her right hands and the sword and the snake in the left ones. Black in colour, she employs the cobra as her vāhana.

A metal image of Vairoṭyā preserved in the Mahāvīra temple at Jodhpur, represents her with a snake overhead and carrying snakes in both the upper hands, while the lower right and the lower left show the sword and the shield respectively. The goddess sits in 'bhadrāsana', her snake vehicle being placed on the left. The inscription behind the image shows that it was installed by Dharāṇaka, a 'nāgara' by caste, who came from Vijāpur, in Saṃvat 1472 (A. D. 1415).

The Mantrādhirāja-kalpa gives the same symbols as the Nirvāṇakalikā but mentions the eagle as her vāhana.[171]

In the Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Paṭa, published by Dr. Hirananda Shastri.[172] Vairoṭyā is represented as four-armed and dark in complexion, with three snakehoods over the crown and carrying snakes in the two upper hands. The right lower hand is held in the 'varada' pose while the left lower, though indistinct, probably held the citron.

The Chāṇī miniature on palm-leaf represents her black in complexion, and wearing a yellow lower garment with red design. The goddess has the cobra-vehicle and carries the snake and the shield in the right and the left upper hands while the sword and the snake are held in the corresponding lower ones.

A metal image from Cambay represents the goddess in the same form with three snake-hoods over her crown. The image is not inscribed

but seems to belong to the late mediaeval period. A sculpture in the Vimala vasahī set of four-armed Mahā-vidyās represents her in a standing attitude and carrying the citron instead of the snake in the left lower hand. The right lower held a sword. On her right is the snake vehicle, a nāga with a half-human and half-snake body.

The same form is shown in the dome of the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Lūṇa vasahī. In the Kharataravasahī sets, again, Vairoṭyā has the same order of symbols but appears to have a different vāhana. The figure of the vāhana is however indistinct.

Several figures of Vairoṭyā are represented in the Vimala vasahī and in the group of temples at Kumbhāriā. Almost all of them show the last-mentioned set of symbols. Amongst a few exceptions may be noted the figure of Vairoṭyā carved on one side of the door-frame leading into the sanctum of the temple of Śāntinātha (?). Here although the goddess carries the same set of symbols, her vāhana is different.

The figure of the vāhana is partly mutilated but it looks like the bull. A bull vāhana is also carved in the case of another figure of Vairoṭyā in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā.

In the Vimala vasahī, a figure of Vairoṭyā on one side of the door-frame of cell no. 1 holds the snake and the shield in the two upper hands, her left lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā' instead of the more common citron while the sword is held in the right lower hand. A mutilated figure of her snake vehicle is visible on her right.

Another sculpture, from a corridor ceiling (in front of cell no. 53) in the same temple, represents her as sitting in the 'lalita' pose and carrying the sword and the shield in the right and the left upper hands, while the rosary and the snake are shown in the corresponding lower ones.

The Ācāradinakara[173] presents a different tradition : White in complexion, Vairoṭyā rides the lion, carries the sword and the shield in her two upper hands, and shows the snake and the 'varada mudrā' in two lower ones.

Digambara texts like the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the Pratiṣṭhātilaka[174] and the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā do not clearly mention the number of her hands, but merely say that Vairoṭyā carries the snake symbol. According to this tradition, she is sky-blue in complexion and rides on the lion.

Very probably, a four-armed form with the snake in each hand was contemplated.

A peculiar bronze image of a goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose and carrying the snake in each of her four hands is preserved in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. She has a canopy of a seven-hooded cobra over her crown. Her vehicle, peeping out from behind the right leg, is difficult to identify, but seems to be a lion. An inscription on the back, shows that the goddess was installed in Saṃvat (15) 52 (1495-6 A. D.). She is called a 'gotradevī Tāriṇī', a tutelary goddess, Tāriṇī by name.

Dr. Sankalia, who first discussed the figure [175], has shown that it cannot be identified with any Śvetāmbara or Digambara goddess associated with snakes. But in view of the fact that the Acāradinakara as also all the Digambara works mention a lion vehicle and as the Digambara texts merely refer to the snake symbol of Vairoṭyā, the identification of this bronze as representing Vairoṭyā is not untenable. Since she is clearly addressed as a 'gotradevī' in the inscription, the figure should be identified as Vairoṭyā in the role of a tutelary goddess. The practices of installing well-known Jaina goddesses like Ambikā as tutelary deities was prevalent in the late mediaeval period. The bronze figure discussed above is a product of Western India, probably Gujarāt or Rājputānā.

III. Six-Armed Variety. The figure of Vairoṭyā cannot be identified in the group of six-armed Mahā-vidyās in the Vimala vasahī, although there is one goddess carrying the sword and the shield. The snake hoods are however missing.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. In her terrific multi-armed form, Vairoṭyā is black and holds, according to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[176] deadly serpents and numerous other weapons.

A sixteen armed goddess from one of the corridor ceilings in the Vimala vasahī ('bhāva no. 33') can be identified as representing Vairoṭyā, the thirteenth mahā-devī. The goddess sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose, under the canopy of a seven-hooded cobra held over her crown. A standing female on each side attends upon her with a fly-whisk. Symbols of some of the hands of the goddess are mutilated beyond recognition, but the snake, the mutilated disc and the 'varada' pose are

seen in her right hands while the left ones still show the snake, the shield, the snake and the 'kalaśa'. On each side of the stool is the figure of a nāginī over whose head is held one of the hands of the goddess. A third nāginī, represented as a mermaid, with both hands folded, is placed in front of the stool and signifies the vāhana of Vairoṭyā.

Vairoṭyā is an ancient Jaina snake-deity. The fact that the Vairoṭya stava of Ārya Ānandila is used for cure from snake-bites reminds one of the 'Jaṅgoli-vidyā' of the Jaina Aṅga texts noted above. Possibly Vairoṭyā is another name or a modified form of the ancient Jaṅgolividyā. This also reminds one of the Buddhist snake-goddess Jāṅgulī.

ACCHUPTA OR ACYUTA : THE FOURTEENTH VIDYA

The fourteenth Vidyādevī is called 'Acchuptā' or 'Acyutā' by the Śvetāmbara pantheon, and 'Acyutā' by the Digambaras. According to Hemacandra she is called 'Acchuptā' because she cannot be defiled by sins.[177]

The Śvetāmbara yakṣiṇī of the sixth Tīrthaṅkara is also called 'Acyutā' ; she holds a different set of symbols and rides a man.

The Vidyādevī is worshipped in three principal forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭi sūrī refers to the sword and the bow carried by 'Acchuptā' riding a horse. According to him the goddess is white in complexion.[178]

The Pratiṣṭhātilaka, the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra and the Sārasvatayantra-pūjā[179] merely refer to the white sword held by 'Acyutā' who is golden in colour and rides on a horse. These Digambara texts are not quite explicit regarding the number of Acyutā's arms, but it seems that besides the vehicle, the sword was the chief distinguishing symbol with the Digambaras.

II. Four-Armed Variety. Śobhana says that Acyutā, golden in complexion and riding on a horse, holds the bow, the shield, the sword and the arrow in her hands.[180] According to the Ācāradinakara[181], she holds the bow and the shield in the left arms and the arrow and the sword in the right ones. Bright like lightning, Acchuptikā rides on the horse.

In the Chāṇī miniature, she holds the above symbols and rides on

the same vāhana. But she is red in colour and wears a yellow garment with red designs.

On a pillar of the raṅgamaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī at Dilawārā is a well-preserved standing image of Acchuptā carrying the bow in the right upper hand, the arrow in the left upper, the citron in the left lower while the right lower is in the 'varada' pose. The horse vāhana is seen on her left while on the right there is a small standing male figure of a devotee.

In the Kharataravasahī sets Acchuptā shows the bow and the arrow in the right and the left upper hands and carries the sword and the shield with the corresponding lower ones. The horse is her vāhana. The symbols of the lower hands in the Chāṇī miniature are here held in the upper ones and 'vice versa'.

Another figure of the goddess from Vimala vasahī represents a different form. Here the rosary and the water-pot ('kamaṇḍalu') replace the 'varada' and the citron of the above figure. The figure in the ceiling of the raṅgamaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī represents the same form. A figure from the corresponding ceiling of the Lūṇa Vasahī shows the same set of symbols.

The Ābu and the Kumbhāriā temples show that worship of Acchuptā was very popular at least in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

The Nirvāṇakalikā[182] says that Acchuptā has the colour of lightening and rides on a horse. She carries the sword and the arrow in her right hands and the shield and the snake in the left ones.

In the Mantrādhirājakalpa she is white and holds the sword, the 'asipatra' (sword-shaped leaf ?), the arrow and the shield.[183]

The Digambara writer Vasunandi says that Acyutā is four-armed, golden in complexion and carries the 'vajra' symbol.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the group of six-armed vidyādevīs in the Vimala vasahī Acchuptā cannot be easily identified. She carries the arrow in the uppermost right hand and the bow in the corresponding left one. The middle pair of hands show the 'jñāna' 'or' 'vyākhyāna mudrā' while the 'varada' and citron are shown by the lowermost right and the left hands respectively. As Rohiṇī carries the same symbols, the identification is difficult.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. As usual, the Nirvāṇakalikā gives a multi-armed form. Golden in colour, the Vidyādevī is said to hold the bow and such other weapons in her hands.[18]

Acchuptā has been very popular in the Jaina rituals. She is often invoked along with the Śāsana-devatā in Jaina rituals. The Abu and the Kumbhāriā temples already referred to have several representations on the pillars and door-frames of minor cells.

MANASI : THE FIFTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

The fifteenth Vidyādevī is known as Mānasī in both the traditions. According to Hemacandra,[185] she is so called because she is born of the mind ('manas').

The Digambara yakṣī of the fifteenth Jina, also called Mānasī, has a different vāhana and symbols.

Mānasī has three principal varieties of form : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed, and (3) multi-armed. Images of the first and the last varieties cannot be found, although their iconography can be traced in literary traditions.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to the Ācāradinakara,[186] Mānasī is golden, rides the swan and shows the 'vajra' and the 'varada' symbols. Śobhana muni, who refers to the 'vajra' alone, also seems to invoke a two- armed form.[187] Bappabhaṭṭī refers to the burning 'heti' held by her.[188]

According to the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, Mānasī holds the trident and the rosary in her two hands. She has a smiling (prasanna) countenance shining like the full-moon.[189] Golden in appearance, she rides on the swan.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara, Nemicandra and Śubhacandra, Mānasī has both the hands folded in adoration. She is red in complexion and employs the snake as her vāhana.[190]

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[191] says that Mānasī, white in colour and riding on a swan, shows the 'varada' and the 'vajra' in her right hands and the rosary and the 'vajra' in the left ones.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, she is white in complexion and carries the thunderbolt ('vajra') and the full-blown lotus in the right and

the left upper hands, while the corresponding lower hands show the 'varada' and the rosary.

A figure on the ceiling in the Vimala vasahī presents a different form of the goddess. Here the devī is standing and her swan vehicle is seen beside her right foot. In the right upper hand she holds the thunderbolt and carries the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' (bell surmounted by the thunderbolt) in the left upper one. The right lower shows the rosary while the left lower is mutilated. The swan vehicle and the 'vajra', the recognition symbol noted by Śobhana muni, help in identifying her as the Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyā Mānasī.

In the Kharataravasahī sets, Mānasī holds the 'vajra' in the two upper hands, and shows the 'varada' and the pot in the right and the left lower ones. The swan is her vāhana.

The Digambara writer Vasunandi says that she is red in complexion and four-armed, two of which are folded in the 'praṇāma mudrā'.

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās no identification of the Mānasī vidyā is possible. However, the existence of a tradition of a six-armed Mānasī is quite certain. And a six-armed figure of a goddess with the swan vehicle, from the corridor ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī already referred to, can be identified as representing the Mahāvidyā Mānasī. The goddess here sits in the 'lalita' pose and carries the lotus in the uppermost right hand and the disc in the corresponding left one. In the middle pair, she holds the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in the right and the lotus in the left hands ; in the third pair are shown the rosary and the citron in a similar order.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā[192] describes a multi-armed form. In this she is red in complexion and holds the 'śakti' and numerous other weapons in her hands.

MAHAMANASI : THE SIXTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

Mahāmānasī is the last in the list of the sixteen principal vidyādevīs in Jaina worship. Hemacandra's explanation of her name is not convincing. She has the same title in both the sects, though with different iconographical details.[193]

The Digambara yakṣiṇī of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha is also called Mahāmānasī but her symbols and the vāhana differ.

Two principal varieties of her form are known so far : the four-armed and the multi-armed. The second variety is described in the Śvetāmbara texts only but the existence of a similar form in the Digambara worship is not unlikely.

Of the existence of a two-armed form, no definite proofs are forthcoming. Śobhana muni refers to her as riding on the lion and holding the sword symbol. Probably a two-armed form is intended.[194]

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bapprabhaṭṭi[195] invokes Mahāmānasī, shining like lightning, riding on the lion and holding the sword, the shield, the jewel and the gourd (kuṇḍikā) in her four hands.

According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,[196] she shows the 'varada' and the sword in the right hands and carries the pitcher and the shield in the left ones.

The Mantrādhirāja-kalpa[197] states that she has a golden appearance, and replaces the 'abhaya' for the 'varada' in the above list.

In the Vimala vasahī set, Mahāmānasī is standing with her right foot resting on her lion vehicle and carrying the sword and the shield in her right and the left upper hands respectively. Her left lower arm appears to have been shown in the 'abhaya' pose. The fourth arm is mutilated.

The symbol of the right upper hand in the above figure can however be inferred with the help of another sculpture of Mahāmānasī preserved in the Sabhāmaṇḍapa ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī. Here the goddess shows the 'abhaya mudrā' in the right upper hand while the three other symbols remain unchanged.

The Ācāradinakara represents another tradition and says that she rides on a crocodile. White in complexion, she shows the sword, the shield, the jewel and the 'varada' symbols.[198] She shines like the moon.

Another type is seen in the Chāṇī miniature which represents her as white in colour and carrying the sword and the shield in her right and left upper hands while the 'varada' and the citron are shown in the corresponding lower ones. She wears a lower garment of yellow colour with red designs and sits on the lion.

In the Kharataravasahī, Mahāmānasī shows different sets of symbols. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose and carries the rosary and the lotus in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the 'varada' and the pot with the corresponding lower ones. The swan is shown as her vāhana. In the second figure of Mahāmānasī, represented as standing, the book replaces the pot symbol of the preceding description while all other symbols remain unchanged. This second form remarkably agrees with one of the four-armed varieties of the Jaina goddess of learning (Sarasvatī).

In the Digambara tradition represented by Pratiṣṭhātilaka and Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the goddess shows the 'varada', the rosary, the goad and the garland in her four hands. Mahāmānasī is red in complexion and rides on a swan. Śubhacandra also follows this tradition.[199]

Vasunandī gives a different form when he says that Mahāmānasī, four-armed and coral-like in complexion, shows, in the two principal hands, the 'praṇāma mudrā' or the mudrā of adoration.[200]

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set, there are two goddesses carrying the book in one hand. The first, with the Vīṇā and the book in the topmost hands, shows the 'vyākhyāna mudrā' in the middle pair and the 'varada' and the citron in the last pair ; the second figure shows the 'varada' and the pot in the last pair, a laddle-like object in the middle right hand and the 'abhaya' and the book in the remaining left hands. The symbol of the topmost right hand is indistinct. One of these two goddesses may be Mahāmānasī and the other may be Mānasī. But in the absence of any other evidence, a correct identification is impossible.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. As usual, the Nirvāṇakalikā adds a multi-armed form of thes Mahāvidyā. Bright like the flash of lightning, she holds in her many hands, the bow and numerous other weapons.[201]

Of the five multi-armed goddesses in the corridor ceilings of the Vimala vasahī, three are already discussed here. The first with the buffalo vehicle, is Mahā-Puruṣadattā, the second with a horse-like vāhana, carrying the chain, is recognised as the Vajraśṛṅkhalā vidyā and the third is Vairoṭyā. The fourth, discussed elsewhere (Journal of the Bombay University, X. 2. p. 210, fig. 36), is the Jaina Goddess of Learning


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The fifth, twenty-armed and having the lion vehicle may also represent one of the Mahā-vidyās. Symbols of some of the hands of the figure are mutilated but of the remaining, the 'khaḍga' (sword), the 'ṣakti', the snake, the mace, the shield, the axe, the 'kamaṇḍalu', the lotus, the 'abhaya' and the 'varada mudrās' can still be recognised. On each side of the goddess is an eight-armed male figure showing symbols like the 'vajra', the goad and the noose. A few years back the present writer identified this sculpture as representing a multi-armed form of the famous Jaina yakṣī Ambikā, and the 'āmralumbi' (bunch of mangoes), an invariable symbol of Ambikā, was then supposed to have been mutilated.[202] But the absence of her two sons, one on her lap, and the other by her side could not be properly accounted for and the two six-armed male figures standing by her side were supposed to represent her sons (transformed as celestial beings with six hands each !). But it seems that the figure can be more easily recognised as the Mahā-vidyā Mahāmānasī. Like Ambikā, Vidyādevī figures are very popular in the carvings of the Vimala vasahī and the shrines at Kumbhāriā. Of the four multi-armed goddesses in the Vimala vasahī, two are already recognised as Mahā-vidyās while the third is Sarasvatī. Again, the sword and the shield symbols found with the four-armed Mahāmānasī from the same temple are still visible in the hands of this figure. And the lion is also the vāhana of Mahāmānasī. Hence it is better to recognise this figure as the sixteenth Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyā Mahāmānasī.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing account it will be possible to demonstrate the popularity of the Vidyādevīs in Jaina Tāntric worship. The references to ancient texts show that the Vidyādevīs and some of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās were of no recent origin, and that they received homage at the hands of the Jaina authors since very early times. Besides the texts, the images of the Mahāvidyās also testify that temple architecture was not considered complete without a representation of the whole group of the sixteen Vidyādevīs, as in the temples at Dilwārā, Kumbhāriā and other places. The Vidyādevīs were a favourite subject for painters to

illustrate and beautify with miniatures the religious manuscripts of the Jaina laity. Loose sculptures moreover of individual Vidyādevīs, scattered all over the country, amidst Jaina temples, ancient or modern, or amidst sites now in ruins, show the importance and popularity of these Mahāvidyās.

It is true that many of the forms of the Vidyādevīs are known from Jaina texts, although it has not been possible to illustrate them all with archaeological specimens or ancient miniatures.

It is difficult to recognise Vidyādevīs of the Digambara pantheon. The chief reason is that in most cases the names of the Digambara yakṣiṇīs are identical with those of the sixteen Mahāvidyās. Therefore, to prevent confusion, an attempt is here made to distinguish between the yakṣiṇīs and the vidyādevīs but a fuller discussion has to be reserved for a paper on the iconography of the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs.

Even in the Śvetāmbara pantheon such difficulties are not unknown. For instance, it is difficult to distinguish between the Cakreśvarī yakṣī and the Apraticakrā vidyā, in loose sculptures. In such cases, the age of the sculptures as well as their provenance should also be taken into consideration.

It may be noted here that the Nirvānakalikā (Śve.) describes a special 'mudrā' for each of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās. Possibly the particular 'mudrā' is to be used for the sādhana of the vidyādevī associated with it. These mudrās, it may be presumed, suggest the chief recognition symbols of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās. In the order of the vidyādevīs treated here, they are : 1. 'Śaṅkha-mudrā', 2. 'Śakti-mudrā', 3. 'Śṛṅkhalā-mudrā', 4. 'Vajra-mu.', 5. 'Cakra-mu.', 6. 'Padma-mu.', 7. 'Gadā-mu.', 8. 'Ghanṭā-mu ', 9. 'Kamaṇḍalu-mu.', 10. 'Paraśu-mu.', 11 'Paraśu-mu.', (of another mode), 12. 'Vṛkṣa-mu.', 13. 'Sarpa-mu.', 14. 'Khaḍga-mu.', 15. 'Jvalana-mu.', 16. 'Śrī-Maṇi-mudrā.'[203]

Vidyas are specially connected with supernatural cognition and magical powers, that is, they are mainly Tāntric deities. The special mudrās noted above demonstrate their Tāntric character. The Mahāvidyās are worshipped in various Tāntric 'maṇḍalas' (diagrams) like the 'Sarvatobhadra-yantra', the 'Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha-yantra', the 'Mantrādhirāja-yantra', the 'Adbhūta-Padmāvatī-yantra', the 'Sārasvata-yantras'

prescribed by Bappabhatti, Śubhacandra and others, the 'Sūri-mantra' diagram, etc.[204]

Besides the sixteen Mahā-vidyās and some of the minor vidyās noted before, there are certain other Tāntric vidyās which are both ancient and popular. The Varddhamāna vidyā and the Śrutadevatā-vidyā are referred to in the Mahāniśītha sūtra. Four ancient goddesses, namely, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā or Jayantā nnd Aparājitā are invoked in this vidyā, along with another goddess called Anihatā. These four goddesses are again worshipped in the third 'sthāna' called 'Vidyā-pada' of the 'Sūri-vidyā' ('Sūri-mantra') diagram together with 'Nandā', 'Bhaddā', 'Śrī' and 'Sāmanniā' (?). It seems that these four goddesses beginning with Jayā were very popular vidyās amongst the Jainas in ancient times. In the first 'pīṭha' or 'prasthāna' of this 'Sūrividyā' are invoked eight vidyās, namely, 'Sarasvatī', 'Rogāpahāriṇī', 'Viṣāpahāriṇī', 'Bandhamokṣaṇī', 'Śrī-Sampādinī', 'Para-vidyā-chedinī', 'Dośanirnāśinī' and 'Aśivopaśamanī'. In the second 'pīṭha' are worshipped three vidyās amongst whom is one 'Bāhubali-vidyā'. The sixteen Mahā-vidyās, the different yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs, Indras and others are invoked in the fifth and the last 'pīṭha'.

A very large number of vidyās are known to Jain literature, especially the Purāṇas and Kathā-kośas. Of these a reference may be made to works like the Tilaka-mañjarī, Kuvalaya-mālā of Udyotana, Nāyakumāracariu, Karakaṇḍacariu, Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta, Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra, Kathākośa of Hariṣena, Kathā-kośa of Devabhadra, Triṣaṣṭī-śalākā-puruṣacaritra of Hemacandra and such other works.

Vidyās are often described as shining like lightning, donning divine garments and adorned with various ornaments. According to the Ādipurāṇa, vidyās are acquired in two ways, either through kula (family and caste), that is, by inheritance or through personal efforts and austerities. According to the Uttarapurāṇa, the 'Nāga-vidyās' are described in the Vidyānupravāda-pūrva (now lost) and the use of these vidyās on Jina images is expressly prohibited.[205]

It may also be noted that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, regarded as a historical figure, is very closely associated with various Tāntric practices and deities. It will not be unnatural to suppose that belief in

some of the Tāntric deities was introduced in Jainism in the age of Pārśvanātha.[206]

The vidyās are supposed to have great magical powers. Prajñapti, for example, was invoked for change of form, while Jvālinī is said to overpower the antagonist in religious disputes. The sixteen Mahāvidyās are said to propagate Jaina faith and adore the Tīrthaṅkaras.[207] It would however be incorrect to regard them as 'Goddesses of Learning.' It would also be incorrect to regard Sarasvatī or Śrutadevatā of the Jainas as 'the head of the collective body of the sixteen vidyādevīs.'[208]

The Jaina Tantra, with its long past, invoked, at a later stage, a deity called Vidyā-deha, the deity 'par excellence' of all knowledge. Four-faced and of a pleasing countenance, accompanied by 'Jñāna-śakti' and seated in the padmāsana, he is to be accompanied by the eight Prātihāryas and the twelve Gaṇas. The four faces immediately remind one of the Hindu god Brahmā, while the eight Prātihāryas and the twelve Gaṇas show that he is no other than the Tīrthaṅkara preaching knowledge in the Samavasaraṇa (assembly erected by the gods).[209]

NOTES

1. 'Piṇḍaniryukti' quoted in 'Abhidhāna Rājendra', VI. p. 23. 'Pañcāśaka' of Haribhadra, 13. 19. cf. Abhayadeva's commentary on Aupapātika Sūtra 16.

2. The twelfth Aṅga text, composed by Gaṇadhara, now totally lost, contained fourteen 'pūrva'-texts, one of which was the 'Vidyānupravāda-pūrva' dealing with a number of powerful vidyās and their sādhanas. M. D. Desai, 'History of Jain Literature' (in Gujarati), pp. 27ff.

3. For a fuller account of the early history of the Jaina Tantra, see 'A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jaina Literature', 'Bhārata Kaumudī', II. pp. 839ff.

4. 'Aupapātika sūtra', 16. and commentary of Abhayadeva. 'Uttarādhyayana', XV. 7-8; commentary on XXIV. 12. 'Piṇḍaniryukti', 499. 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', 2. 2. 15. 'Nāy dhammakahāo' (Vaidya's ed.), XVI. 129, p. 189 ; XVIII. 141, p. 209 ; XIV. 104, p. 152 ; I. 4. p. 1

5. 'Sthānāṅga', 8. 3. sūtra 611 ; also 'Vipāka', I. 7. p. 74. 'Sthānāṅga', 9. 3. 678 and the commentary of Abhayadeva. Also see 'Paumacariyam', 7. 142 for Mātaṅga vidyā.

6. 'Mahāniś'ītha sutta' (Ms. no. 165, B. O. R. I.) folios 17, 45-46. 'JISOA'. IX. pp. 50-51.

7. 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', 2. 2. 15.

8. 'Samavāyāṅga', sūtra 29, pp. 48-49.

9. 'Daśavaikālika', I. Quoted by Malayagiri in his comm. on 'Vyavahārasūtra', 'Pīthikā', p. 28. Also 'Niśītha Bhāṣya', 'Pīṭhikā', v. 33, and pp. 8-9.

10. 'Niśītha', uddeśa XVI. 'Bhāṣya' v. 63.

11. 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya,' uddeśa I. v. 2508 and comm. According to Muni Puṇyavijaya, Saṃghadāsa gaṇi, the author of 'Bṛhat-Kalpa Bhaṣya' is earlier in age than Saṅghadasa II, the author of Vasudevahiṇḍi.

12. 'Triṣaṣṭī śalākā-puruṣa-caritam', I. 3. 124-226. The Pāṇḍukās and Śvapākas are called Paṭukās and Samakās by Jinadāsa.

13. 'Āvaśyaka cūrṇi', I. pp. 161-162.

14. Haribhadra's Vṛtti on 'Āvaśyaka Niryukti', I. v. 317, pp. 143-144.

15. 'Vasudevahiṇḍi', I. part. 1, pp. 163-164.

16. Ibid., part 2. appendix 4, section 74 gives a list of vidyās referred to in both the parts.

17. 'Paumacariyam', 7. vv. 135ff, pp. 41-42 ; 68. pp. 223-24 ; 59. v. 84, p. 7. vv. 107-108.

18. 'Padmacaritam' of Raviṣeṇa, 7. vv. 323ff ; 69. w. 9-10 ; 67. v. 6.

19. 'Harivaṁśa', 22. vv. 56-60.

20. Ibid., 26. vv. 1-24.

21. Ibid., 22. vv. 61-66.

22. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi' of Hemacandra (Śve.), 2. 152-154 : 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra' of Aśādhara (Dig.), p. 56, vv. 33-36.

23. 'Jinasaṁhitā-sāra-saṁgraha', of Indranandi (incomplete ms. in the Ailaka Pannālal Digambara Jaina Bhāṇḍāra, Bombay) folio 31.

24. 'Ādipurāṇa', ch. 18, ch. 19 ; ch. 47. v. 255 : 'Uttarapurāṇa', 68 vv. 613-14 ; 72. 123.

25. For Tijayapahutta, see, 'Mahāprabhāvika Navasmaraṇa', pp. 255-271. For Pārśvanātha-stotra of Śivanāga, see, 'Mantrādhirāja-Cintāmaṇi', pp. 70-87.

26. 'Caupannamahāpuruṣacariyam', Ms. no 758, Haṁsavijava collection. Baroda, folio 68. Even Bhadreśvara (c. 1100 A. D.) maintained this older tradition in his Kahāvalī (Ms. Haṃsavijaya folio 17a).

27. 'Caturviṁśatikā' of Bappabhaṭṭī and 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā' of Śobhana muni, both edited by Prof. Kapadia, Surat.

28. The reader is requested to refer to Muni Jayantavijaya's two volumes on Abu (in Gujarati) published in Śrī-Vijayadharma-sūri-Jaina-Granthamālā, nos 10, and 40. The 'bhāva' numbers referred to in the following pages are according to the scheme adopted by Jayantavijayajī in the first part.

29. Ms. no. 1155, Upādhyāya Vīravijaya collection, Jaina Bhāṇḍāra, Chāṇī, containing seven works in one group. They are : 'Ogha-niryukt' (folios 1-83), 'Piṇḍa-niryukti' (folios 84-132), 'Daśavaikālika folio 133-173), 'Pakkhi and Khāmaṇā sūtras' (174-191), 'Śramaṇa sūtra' (192-197), 'Yati-dinacaryā' (198-227). The miniatures were first published by Sarabhai Nawab (in 'Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma') who wrote that the manuscript was copied in V. S. 1218.

30. Hemacandra, gloss on 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', 2. p. 102.

31. The view, expressed in 'Jain Iconography', p. 186, that the goddess presides over the art of music according to Śvetāmbara texts is untenable ; the 'Ācāradinakara' merely calls her "one whose great prowess is lauded everywhere".

32. 'Caturviṁśatikā' of Bappabhaṭṭī, verse 12, pp. 25-26.

33. 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', of Śobhana muni, verse 16, p. 74 ; v. 52, p. 171. Śobhana merely refers to the bow and the rosary. Obviously, the arrow symbol is understood. I have therefore, regarded this verse as giving a four-armed variety. Her victory over enemies is emphasised by both Bappabhaṭṭī and Śobhana.

34. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37. The work was composed by Pādalipta sūri in c. 11th century A. D. see JUB. IX. 2. p. 159, n. 6.

35. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162. The work was composed by Varddhamāna sūri in 1468 V. S (1411 A. D.).

36. The text is published in 'Mantrādhirāja-Cintāmaṇi', edited by Nawab, pp. 227-288. The date of composition of the work is uncertain, see JUB. IX. 2. p. 16 note 2. 'Mantrādhirāja kalpa, paṭala 3, v. 3.

37. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', p. 284. The work was composed by Nemicandra in the sixteenth century A. D

38. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra' of Āśāddhara (13th cent. A. D.), p. 54. verse 37.

39. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā' (Ms.. B. O. R. I., no. 192) of Śubhacandra.

40. Dated in A. D. 1070. See Sankalia, 'Jain Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs', fig. 7, 'Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute', I. 2-4.

41. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.

42. 'Pañcāśaka', ch. 19. verse 24.

43. 'Vasudevahiṇḍi', I. part 1, pp. 163-64.

44. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.

45. For the iconographic peculiarities of different Jaina Yakṣiṇīs discussed in this paper, see 'Jaina Iconography' by B. C. Bhattacarya

46. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162.

47. 'Stuticaturviṁśatikā' verse 60, p. 185

48. 'Caturviṁśatikā', verse 16, p. 32.

49. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 54, verse 38

50. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.

51. 'Nirvāṇakalikā' p. 37.

52. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, v. 4.

53. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. pp. 284-85.

54. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sāra saṁgraha' of Vasunandi (c. 12th century A. D.)

55. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.

56. 'Vasudevahiṇḍi', I. 1. p. 97. 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya', pīṭhikā, p. 57, 'Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā', p. 94.

57. 'Ādipurāṇa' of Jinasena II, 18. 11-12.

58. 'Paumacariyam'. 7, verses 136ff. Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I. part 2. pp. 387-88 and appendix p. 147.

59. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.

60. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra'. p. 54, verse 39 ; the text is corrupt.
61. 'Stuti-Caturvīṁśatikā' p. 60, verse 12.
62. 'Caturvimṣatikā', verse 20. p. 37.
63. 'Ācāradinakara' II. p. 162.
64. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
65. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
66. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 5.
67. 'Pratiṣṭhāṭilaka', VII. p. 285. Vasunandi also refers to her four arms but gives the chain symbol only. According to him, the goddess is golden in complexion.
68. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.
69. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacarya, 'Buddhist Iconography', pp. 111 ff, pl. XXXIV b.
70. Hemacandra gives the explanation of her title. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', 2. p. 103. But the iconography of the goddess supports the explanation given above.
71. 'Caturviṁśatikā', verse 24, p. 43.
72. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', verse 32, p. 121.
73. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 54, v. 40. 'Puṣpa-yāna' is the aerial car of Kubera in the Hindu pantheon. 'Puṣpa-ratha' means a pleasure-car not used for war. Unfortunately no such representation of the goddess with a car is available. It would therefore be advisable to regard a flower (lotus) as her vehicle.
74. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p, 162.
75. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
76. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 6.
77. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. p. 285.
78. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.
79. Benoytosh Bhattacarya, op. cit., pp. 39, 124. See Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I, part 2, p. 361 for Rambhā and p. 385 for Aindrī.
80. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op cit.
81. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162.
82. 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', v. 72. p. 223.
83. 'Caturviṁśatikā', verse 28. p. 48.
84. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
85. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 7.
86. For the iconography of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī, see 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Cakreśvarī' by U. P. Shah which will be published in a subsequent issue of the JISOA.
87. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18,
88. See plate published in 'Jaina-Puṣṭaka-Praśasti-Saṁgraha', Siṃghi Jaina Series No 18.
89. Vogel, 'Catalogue of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum, Mathurā', p. 95, pl XVII, fig. no D. 6.
90. 'Praṭiṣṭhāsāroddhāra'. p. 54, v. 41.
91. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. pp. 285-86.
92. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
93. 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', v. 68, p. 204,
94. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162
95. 'Caturviṁśatikā,' verse 40. p. 72.
96. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 54, verse 42.
97. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
98. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3. v. 8..
99. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. v. 6, p. 286.
100. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.

101. Haribhadra's commentary on the Āvaśyaka Niryukti, v. 932 p. 411.
102. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., pp. 356 ff. and appendix pp. 114f.
103. 'Anuyogadvāra', sūtra 20. cf. also cūrṇi on this, pp. 24-25. The Anuyogadvāra is said to have been composed by Ārya Rakṣita c. 600 years after Mahāvīra.
104. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
105. 'Caturviṁśatikā', verse 32, p. 54.
106. 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', verse 84, p. 253 ; verse 20 p. 86.
107. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, verse 7. The author merely refers to the 'gadā' symbol.
108. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 43.
109. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
110. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3, 9.
111. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. p. 286, v. 7.
112. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.
113. 'Śākta-pramoda', p. 2. See also Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I. part 2. pp. 363 and 373 for Kālī ; pp. 357-58 for Mahākālī and Bhadrakālī.
114. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 207. 'Vidhiprapā', of Jinaprabha sūri (14th cent. A. D.), published in the Siṃghī Jaina Granthamālā, pp. 116-117.
115. For the text of 'Ṛṣimaṇḍala yantra' etc., see 'Mahāprabhāvika-Navasmaraṇa', pp. 509ff. and 'Ṛṣimaṇḍala-mantra-kalpa', (Dig.) edited by Paṇḍita Manoharalāl Shāstri.
116. 'Pañcāśaka', 19, 24.
117. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
118. 'Caturviṁśatika', v. 44 pp. 77-78. Ibid., v. 63, p. 119 also invokes Mahakālī. (She has curly hair).
119. 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', v. 44. p. 147 ; 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, v. 8.
120. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
121. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3. v. 10.
122. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 44. The text seems to be corrupt.
123. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. pp. 286-7. v. 8.
124. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
125. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.
126. See Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 358.
127. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
128. 'Caturviṃśatikā'. v. 48, p. 87.
129. 'Stuti-Caturviṃśatikā', v. 80, p. 244 ; Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, v. 9.
130. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55. v. 45. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. p. 287, v. 9. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā..
131. 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 37.
132. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3, v. 11.
133. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 359 and appendix, p. 119.
133.a 'Nirvāṇakalikā', p. 18.
134. 'Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa' (Cal. Skt. Series no XII.), VIII, vv. 1-20 See also Gopinath Rao, op. cit., pp. 360ff. 'Rūpamaṇḍana' (Cal. Skt. Series no. XII.) V. vv. 1-14.
135. Benoytosh Bhattacarya, op. cit., pp. 146-47.
136. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
137. Quoted by Kapadia, 'Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā', p. 95.
138. 'Caturviṁśatikā', v. 52, p. 92.
139. 'Stuti Caturviṁśatikā', v. 24, p. 95 ; 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162. v. 10.
140. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55. v, 46 ; 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII, p. 287, v. 11 ; Śubhacandra refers to the sword symbol only.

141. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.
142. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 12.
143. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
144. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
145. Jvālinī-mata of Yogindra Īndranandi, ms. 81/jh, Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah (Bihar).
146. Vasudevahiṇḍi, I. part 1, pp. 163-64.
147. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 162, v. 11.
148. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 36, p. 130.
149. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. v. 13.
150. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 287. v. 11.
151. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 47.
152. Nirvāṇakalikā p. 18, also see p. 37.
153. Benoytosh Bhattacarya, op. cit., pp. 80-83.
154. Quoted in the Śrī-Tattva-nidhi, p. 10, No. 80.
155. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
156. Caturviṁśatikā, v. 36. p. 64.
157. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 40, p. 137. Ācāradinakara. II. p. 162, v. 12.
158. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55. v. 48.
159. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
160. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 14.
161. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 12.
162. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
163. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
164. By Bappabhaṭṭī sūri. Śobhana addresses her as Abināgrya patnī which is explained by Dhanapāla and another commentator as chief queen of Dharaṇendra, namely, Vairoṭyā, see Stuti Caturviṁśatikā, v. 92, pp. 276f.
165. Bhagavatī sūtra, śataka 10, uddeśa 5, sūtra 406 gives the six names of the chief queens of Dharaṇendra. The names given in Sthānāṅga sūtra, p. 361, are slightly different.
166. Vairoṭyā-devī-stava published in Jaina Stotra Sandoha, I. pp. 347ff.
167. Prabandha-kośā of Rajaśekhara sūri (composed in 1405 V. S. or 1349 A. D.) edited by Kapadia, prabandha no. 3. Prabhāvaka-caritra of Prabhācandra (1334 V. S.). edited by Jinavijaya, Siṁghī Jaina Granthamālā, no. 10.
168. Caturviṃśatikā, v. 8, Also ibid., v. 72, p. 124.
169. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 92, p. 276.
170. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
171. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3, v. 15.
172. Indian Historical Quarterly, XIV. 3. pp. 425 ff. and plate. From the original paṭa, I find that the fourth hand is not empty as thought by the late Dr. Shastri.
173. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 13.
174. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 13. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 49. The Digambara texts call her Vairoṭī.
175. Jain Antiquary, IV. 3. pp. 85-88. I am thankful to Rev. H. Heras for kindly allowing me to take a photograph of this bronze.
176. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
177. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
178. Caturviṁśatikā. v. 24. p. 138.
179. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 14 ; Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 56, v. 50.
180. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 56. p. 179.

181. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 168, v. 14. Also see ibid. II. p. 151 where she is called Acyutā.
182. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
183. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 16.
184. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
185. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
186. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 15.
187. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 8, p. 44.
188. Caturviṁsatikā, v. 56, p. 100.
189. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 17.
190. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 51. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 289, v. 15.
191. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
192. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
193. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
194. Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā, v. 2', p. 105.
195. Caturviṁśatikā, v. 60. p. 106.
196. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
197. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 18.
198. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 16.
199. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 289. v. 16. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 56, v. 52. Śubhacandra omits the fourth symbol of varada mudrā : Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā.
200. Pratiṣṭhā-sāra-saṁgraha.
201. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
202. Journal of the University of Bombay, IX, 2. p. 162, fig. 25.
203. Nirvāṇakalikā, p 32. On p. 4 however, where only the names of such mudrās are given this text gives the muṣala as the mudrā of Gaurī. The mantras for all sixteen Mahā-vidyās are also given on pp. 3-4.
204. For the various maṇḍalas see Mantrādhirāja-cintāmaṇi, Mahā-prabhāvika-Navasmaraṇa and the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, all edited by Nawab : the Sūrīmantra published by Prītivijaya, in three parts.
205. Triṣaṣṭi, V. 2 ; 92-93 ; Ādipurāṇa, 18. 13ff. ; Uttarapurāṇa, 67. v. 51.
206. Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantra, Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha, part III, pp. 82ff.
207. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 120, v. 11 ; Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288.
208. cf. 'Jaina Iconography', B. C. Bhattacarya, p. 163.
209. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 3.

Illustrations

Pl. XIII. 1. Rohiṇī (Chāṇī).
2. Prajñapti (Vimala Vasahī).
3. Vajraśṛṅkhalā (Vimala Vasahī).
4. Vajrāṅkuśī (Vimala Vasahī).
Pl. XIV. 5. Cakreśvarī (Lūṇa Vasahī)
6. Naradattā (Chāṇī).
7. Kālī (Lūṇa Vasahī).
8 Mahā kālī (Pātan).

Pl. XV. 9. Gaurī (Lūṇa Vasahī).
10. Gāndhārī (Chāṇī).
11. Mahājvāla (Vimala Vasahī).
12. Manavī (Chāṇī).
Pl.XVI. 13. Vairoṭyā (Lūṇa Vasahī).
14. Acyutā (Vimala Vasahī).
15. Manasī (Lūṇa Vasahī).
16. Mahāmānasī (Vimala Vasahī).

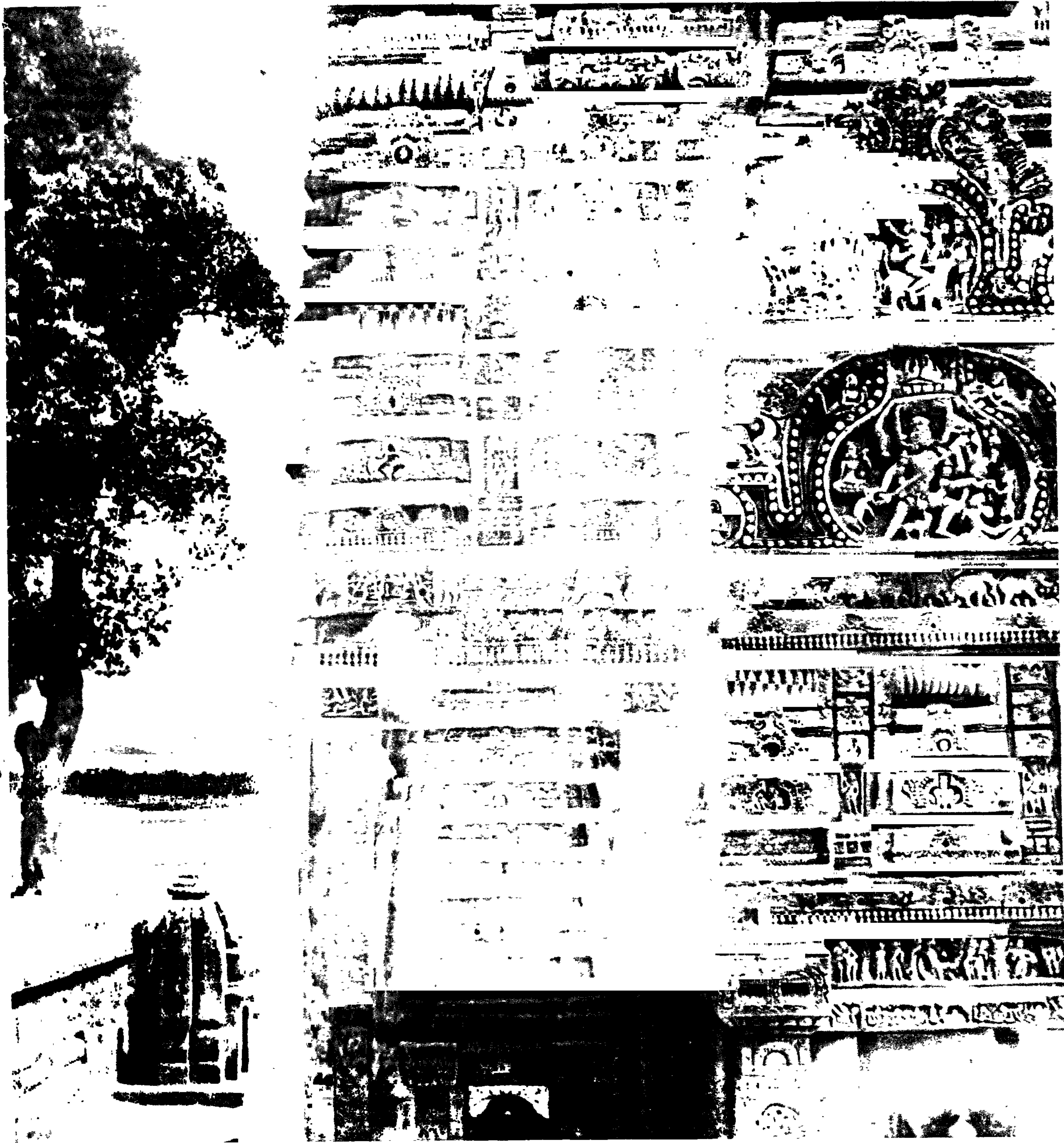
THE WALLS OF ORISSAN TEMPLES

by STELLA KRAMRISCH

Nature of temple wall : plain or carved. Orissan architecture and its sculpture, for over half a millennium, represent one local branch of the tradition of temple building practised in India from the Himalaya in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south. The carved stones of the temple are part of its form although not all the temples have their surfaces carved. On some temples they are plain and the image in the central niche of the walls, in the cardinal direction, is the only sculpture. There is no middle way ; the walls are either plain as a whole or they are carved as a whole. There is neither statuary nor architectural sculpture in the accepted sense ; the texture of the walls is either plain or carved. In these two varieties the temple walls are set up from the eighth to the thirteenth century. The earliest extant temples are not the beginning of the style. They show it compact and replete with the themes which were elaborated subsequently. It is homogeneous ; the organic logic of its form leads to synthetic expositions at different stages, from the tenth century onward. It was then also that new elements became incorporated in the form of Orissan architecture and sculpture. They were assimilated from the more western branches of the tradition as practised in the Central Provinces and Central India.

Texture of the carved wall : Outward movement of buttresses ; inward movement of relief ground. The reliefs of the early extant temples of which the Paraśurāmeśvar in Bhuvaneśvar is the most perfect, are in the nature of an incrustation. Whether they are framed or not, they closely adhere to the ground which, as a rule, exceeds them laterally, being the surface of the moulding to which they belong (cf. Pl. XVIII). Some of these flat reliefs have, more often than not, another ground, at one remove from the main ground against which are displayed the larger figures.





XVII

Smaller carvings, such as the heads looking out from round windows, and the window openings themselves lead further into depth by means of stepped surfaces narrowing ring-like ; they harbour a deepening darkness. The relief cut into the stone on several planes is the sculptural correspondence, of necessity in the opposite direction, to the architectural progression of the buttresses from the straight or curved walls whence they project and draw with them, as it were, the deep shadows in the interjacent recesses.

Supersession of architectural organisation by one relief theme. The double movement of masses and shadows, architectural and sculptural, interknits the thickness of the several projections of the wall. The sculptural units on the one hand are a part only of the extent of the respective architectural units and this would have been the original context. The architectural units, on the other hand, each serving as the ground of the relief are, moreover, also connected by their reliefs where one carved theme extends over two, three and more architectural units and ties them together (Pl. XVIII). Below this connecting relief the faces of the architectural units are plain, variously moulded or stepped. They, in turn, may also be carved in a lower relief. So the major relief may extend over several architectural units which serve as its ground and appear united into one larger theme by their dominant relief. In its effect it relies partly on the further receding planes cut, as in the opening of the 'windows', perpendicularly into the stone, and, being partly carved 'in the round', it also bridges the gaps or neckings between the architectural units whose straight or curved surfaces may themselves be enriched by reliefs.

This intricate texture of the carved wall results in patterns of light and shade. They are outlined by the deepest shadows. These run in grooves vertically between the buttresses of the wall and their extensions on the curved planes of the superstructure ; and horizontally between the single architectural units each of which is a prismatic shape and suggests a roof or storey of the temple. At the corners of the superstructure, the square Amalaka compresses deep shadows within its vertical blades and screws together, as it were, the manifold units of the superstructure (Siṃhanātha Temple, Baramba, Pl. XVIII).

None of the sculptures is architectural in the accepted sense for none enhances by its effect the function of that part which it decorates; [1] none of the carvings moreover is merely decorative for each has its meaning at its proper place and is an image or symbol. The architectural unit moreover is but an architectural symbol and does not function as roof, storey, or the like for the Śikhara is a monument piled up by trabeation; its buttresses are progressions from the centre in a symbolic capacity; they do not carry the impact of the mass. Terms and forms of architecture are here part of an architectural symbolism, and sculpture, as far as it represents one or the other known thing, such as a window or the shape of man, is but an incrustation on the total shape full of meaning and at the same time its exposition.

The wall as a three-dimensional integument. The closely knit integument forming the outer wall of an Orissan temple consists of stereometric shapes, recesses and the dark shade within them; their relief planes cohere with a fierce compulsion. At the phase represented by the Paraśurāmeśvar Temple the mouldings are nearly prismatic; the cyma of their curved front planes but little recedes from a fillet below and is noticeable in the slightly vacillating curve of the vertical edge of each of the 'roof shapes'. The total appearance of the vertical recess or shadow line thus formed is flexible and ascends like a spinal cord. According to the number of its buttresses, the curved Śikhara has more than one such chase on each of its faces. The wall of the Orissan temples is a three dimensional substance replete with an interknit movement based on small, repetitive units up and downwards, laterally, backwards and forwards, of solids and voids with their darkness. While this is true also of other types of mediaeval Indian temples, the departure from the straight or convex plane of wall and Śikhara cannot elsewhere be retraced as clearly nor can it be followed, step by step, to the stage of the furthermost bastion-like progressions of the wall This elaboration of the wall is

1. Decoration as a mere embellishment exists only by contrast with, and as a supplement to, naturalistic art.



not tectonic, it also does not cover the wall as if it were by a screen of tracery or glazed tiles. The wall as an articulate integument bodied forth on the outside of the temples is a monumental equivalent to the modelling of the images. There, the gradation of planes holds the subtle body of divinity and makes it manifest. The temple also is the "body of God".

Its form is an elaboration of the theme of the progression from the centre; it is a raiment whose texture adheres to the presence within and clothes it. It is a specifically Indian fabric of monumental substance impregnated with the meaning by which it is formed. The history of this form is at the same time its ontology.

History (ontology) of the wall : (1) 'Uttareśvar'. The Uttareśvar temple—(prior to its restoration)—in Bhuvaneśvar, showed its stumpy Śikhara without carvings, furrowed horizontally by the lines of dark shadows between the fillets and mouldings representing its storeys. They continued across a narrow buttress curved parallel with the face of the Śikhara, in the middle of each of its sides, in the cardinal direction. The Baramba Temple, more elaborated even then the Paraśurāmeśvar, yet presents this salient feature.

(2) 'Paraśurāmeśvar'. On the Śikhara of the Paraśurāmeśvar the curved plane has five projections of equal height, the one in the centre being the broadest and all of them are bound, as it were, at the base by one continuous cornice of the same depth ; below this cornice is a deep recess indicating the ground of the 'relief of the temple wall'. It is itself, once more, full of reliefs. Below, another similar cornice gives the height of projection of the niches and mouldings of the wall. This is the fundamental disposition of the relief of the wall. It is not the only one for it is exceeded by another salient relief-plane which projects from the broad central buttress of the Śikhara whereas on the perpendicular wall of the temple its high projection is directly from it.

This central buttress of the Śikhara with its furthermost projected offset in the middle is carved on several distinct planes, each complete in its effect ; the lower set of co-ordinated reliefs having their themes laid out in the horizontal whereas the topmost or

superimposed reliefs have their themes connected in the vertical direction; they act as tentacles and bind together vertically their horizontal substratum of carved mouldings and recesses.

The central buttress of the Śikhara, a double relief twice over, effective on four major, and some further, subordinated, planes has its counter-weight near the corners of the Śikhara where the recess between the two lateral offsets is broader than the deep shadow groove on either side of the central buttress. The interval between the lateral buttresses is carved to half its depth, where a new set of planes is introduced, placed back from its lateral buttresses whence it is divided by a thin vertical chase whose ground, in fact, is the ultimate ground of the entire display. The reliefs of the vertical grooves establish their themes vertically; these are miniature temples resting on a double, high plinth, their image is flanked by pillars, their storied, curvilinear superstructure is overspun by reliefs as rich in detail and planes as are those of the topmost central buttress. The verticality of the miniature shrines is reinforced by pillar shapes carved on either side of their superstructure in support, as it were, of the recessed cornice moulding which is part of the horizontal articulation of the Śikhara and projects as one of the storeys on each of the buttresses. By this link the miniature temples of the vertical chase are coordinated with the repetitive rhythms of the buttresses.

Each of the four curved sides of the Śikhara consists of several planes, each with its relief interknit once more on different levels. Similar and also contrasting themes are co-ordinated throughout the thickness of the wall which thus consists of buttresses and chases of various depths, an interplay of correlated levels whose repetitive themes are impressed on each unit or group of units, each being clearly demarcated from the other. The demarcation in the main is effected by the shadows in vertical chases and horizontal recesses, reducing the variously projected units (i. e. the 'roof shapes' or cornice mouldings superadded on each buttress)—to the appearance of rectangles suspended in the air and forming part of the texture of the wall and its weightless thickness. The demarcation moreover of the reliefs on these rectangular units is curved and beaded. With



XX

its semi-circle, broad oval or trefoil shape, in which dwell images and darkness, it punctuates and fixes each unit in its place.

The multiple units on different levels are synchronised, their symbol shapes in repetitive rhythms on parallel planes are interknit by means of dark shadows which transfix the units by various dot-shapes and connect them by the long and intersecting vertical and horizontal dark lines of shadow.

The walls, in as much as they consist of buttresses projecting to various heights have an impact which is greatest in the centre of each side, in the cardinal direction. With all this impact in the outward and horizontal directions their bulk does not suggest a corresponding weight for the shape of the Śikhara is slit at regular intervals and furrowed by deep shadows. The transformation of the temple walls into a stereometry traversed by spaces full of darkness establishes an architectural quality of weightlessness. The units seem as if let down in chains, suspended from the top.

(3) 'Baramba'. At the stage of the Paraśurāmeśvar, each unit has its prismatic integrity. Each single "roof shape" is marked by its trefoil dormer window. Only on the central and highest buttress roof shapes, mouldings and fillets are coalesced.

The temple in Baramba[1], compared with the Paraśurāmeśvar temple of Bhuvaneśvar shows the units in a state of assimilation and coalescence, as if they wear melting (Pl. XVIII). They have lost their edges and clear outline ; while their roof shapes are subdivided, more pronouncedly than on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple, into a fillet below having its own baluster pattern and the roof shape above, the steps by which these roofs are made to project are now more clearly visible than on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple where they lie hidden in the darkness of their horizontal recess ; these steps, broadening towards the top, act as a console for the roof unit ; each roof unit moreover is further developed, forming, alike to the central buttress, a similar progression from its broader and underlying buttress which exceeds laterally and winglike, the higher offset

1. The Raja of Baramba allowed Sri P. Neogy to take the photographs reproduced on Pls. XVII—XIX.

and repeats, on a lower level, the broken curve of its outlines. Not enough however of this differentiation ; the rooflets themselves are now not uniform. While two subsequent courses will have the shape described adove, the next two courses will have each the shape of a stepped or fluted torus and those which continue the square Amalaka at the corners are altogether of the shape of consoles, their lower part broadened outward and upward in the shape of a full blown lotus, their upper part its crowning fillet.

The neat stereometry of the Paraśurāmeśvar appears here softened, angles and edges blunted, contrasts converted into transitions. The single unit is still marked by its relief but more generally two units are contracted by their relief ; the intervening recess is now not a dividing furrow but forms part of their volume which emerges as console or torus shape carrying its shadows or darkness to the surface of the buttress. To this continuity of modulated shapes corresponds also a continuity of the relief ; the recess, dividing the walls of the temple from the Śikhara is now replete with long panels of figures forming a frieze whereas on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple small rectangular compositions were added horizontally.

With the introduction of varied shapes in the superimposed mouldings or storeys their number too increases between each two of the corner Amalakas forming one complex unit. Along its height now extend the miniature temples in the recess ; their superstructure having been increased by one course or storey, their base trebly subdivided ; their pillars lengthened. Slender and elegant they house an image of equal grace and, what is more, two corresponding angels, in lieu of the pillars of the upper floor of the Paraśurāmeśvar miniature temples are postured to either side of their superstructure on the wing of the adjacent miniature temple roof shape. The contrasts, horizontally, of light, shade and straight cut shapes are not only softened ; the images of the celestials are embodiments of mediating suppleness.

Into this mellow context of transitions are fitted not only the curvilinear, beaded and extravagantly twisted 'Gavākṣa' compositions of the Śikhara ; some of the short and terse rectangular relief themes also have their place on the perpendicular walls, strung vertically in the shapes of high pilasters with their capitals, or framing the larger image



as that of Agni (Pl. XIX).[1] These small panels persist on the temples of Orissa whereas the frameless, small and compact carvings were destined to lose their rectilinear definition ; in future they form small groups supported on consoles and fillets (Pl. XVIII).

With all the contractions and differentiating summing up, the Baramba temple preserves the disconnectedness in the vertical, of the lateral projections of the wall and on the Śikhara, although the central 'ratha' had been given its high extension from the outset (Uttareśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar). The unification of the lateral themes on wall and Śikhara is complete on the Mukteśvar Temple, Bhuvaneśvar. There also the original lack of correlation of the buildings of hall and temple is transformed into a unit of contrasting shapes, the lesser moreover having become assimilated to the higher, by giving to the stepped pyramid of its roof shape a curved outline, differing from that of the superstructure of the temple but tuned in the same key. Such an assimilation was outside the range of the Baramba temple's architect. The structure of the hall is reminiscent of a log house ; its walls do not correspond with those of the temple proper as they do in the fully evolved style. The clerestory roof however has now three sloped stages and ascends towards the pyramidal shape which it was to have at a subsequent age.

"*Folk art*". The reliefs of the Siṃhanātha temple are similar in form to those on temples in Bhuvaneśvar where they are not more intimately part of Eastern Indian folk art. It had also contributed much of its immediacy and assurance to the earlier temples of Bhuvaneśvar. The family of East Indian folk art represented by the Baramba reliefs, like that of Agni and its frame (Pl. XIX) extends from Pahārpur in North Bengal to Muhkaliṅgam in Ganjam. The relief of Agni on his ram (Pl. XIX) is uncanny with leisured movement conveying elemental power ; great sculptural knowledge is abbreviated, the edges are smoothed, the design is facile and blunt and yet charged with demoniac realisation. The panels on top, forming part of the frame of Agni's niche, have their counterparts in scroll paintings from Bengal (JISOA, Vol. XIII, Pl. X.) of the mid-nineteenth century when, with a similarly impassioned ease, fighting

1. Coats of whitewash blurr and coarsen the carving. This misuse may be a superstitition based on the practise of coating the buildings with 'vajralepa'.

demons triumph whether shown vanquished or not, in the zest of the design which gives them existence.

"Gupta" Style" and Orissan idiom. Of less relevance are the broadened versions of the ubiquitous Gupta heritage of creepers and their spirits (Kalpalatā, Pl. XIX) ; here the idiom is that of a patois lacking in form and the way how the various horizontal and vertical themes are joined is insensitive. The Orissan idiom of sculpture, more than that of any other medieval Indian school, adheres to the surface, each panel to its place, each image to its ground ; the various panels may occupy different levels (Pl. XIX) or, one relief plane serves as the ground of another relief or of the higher level of the same carved theme (Pl. XXIII). As in its monumental conception so also in the single reliefs the different planes remain intact, the effect is in their interplay and not in their coalescence. Where this comes about, from the eleventh century, also other factors show that Orissan sculpture faced towards central India. Before this was given effect, its strength is in the display of broad masses in planes. The modelling and vigour of the shapes is condensed in their outer limits. The broad shoulder for example (Pl. XX) is the globular joint of the figure and its movement ; its lateral distortion is thrice repeated as plastic accent in a group of three male dancers forming a perforated window.[1]

In this and similar varieties of the perforated relief the pure form of Orissan sculpture has reached its climax.

Kapilesvar window : Pure Orissan form of Sculpture (10th century). The dark ground of the 'relief', i.e. of the window, is the interior space of the building, the hall ; its effect, seen from the outside, is the same as that of 'solid windows', niches and recesses on the sanctuary itself. In this particular window (Pl. XX), which is the middle panel only of the whole window, the plane of the ground is discretely visible as a rectangular network of stone in front of which cross the sculptural rhythms ; movement and counter-movements meet in swaying heads and stepping feet, so that a threefold vertical is established, also in the figured part,

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1. cf. the entire window, Fig. 319 in : Kramrisch, 'Die Indische Kunst', Springer, 'Kunst-geschichte', Vol. VI.



XXII





the two horizontal bars underlying the shoulders, and the opening movement of the thighs. There, the inner silhouette and modelling are resilient with the relaxed tension of the bodily movement ; for the rest, the movement is a rhythmical pattern composed in planes, the lower a web of diagonal intersections ; these are summed up in the upper plane by the arches of the arms bent with as much sinister ease as the Rākṣasa visages conjure up ; it casts an enduring spell for the huge hands, circular earrings, eyes, face and locks of hair keep it fixed while the ends of the scarves, swinging in the opposite direction, mediate between the vehemence of the demoniac movement of the figures and the stability of the perpendicular network of the window.

The linear pattern of these dancing figures is built up from the base, in triangles and lozenges ; these are crossed over by scythes of arm rhythms. The mighty pliant limbs are pure form, its suggestiveness is communicated also to the dancer's body on the left though it is more descriptive of the shape of the body and has less movement.

This is a mature art, the perfection of the folk art on the earlier temples, and of Baramba ; nothing here is casual, all is conscious discipline ; its substance is the indigenous art tradition of Orissa. The similarly perforated windows of the Paraśurāmeśvar appear as essays in the same direction. Their form however is arrested by the varieties of postures and their rhythms, it halts when shaping their exaltation and presenting their charm. A parallel process covering two centuries, is seen here in two of its relevant stages in Bhuvaneśvar, corresponding to the Quattrocento and Cinquecento in Florence.

Absorption of the Magadhan idiom (8th-10th centuries). The Kapileśvar window marks the moment of supreme achievement of mediaeval indigenous Orissan sculpture. In it had been absorbed the heritage of the Gupta age. It must have been assimilated prior to the earliest of the mediaeval temples now in existence in Orissa. While they were under construction (8th century), Northern Orissa (Utkal) with its Buddhist images emulated those from Magadha ; this was not altogether to its advantage. The cast of the Buddhist images was then also given to those on the Hindu temples. This had its prelude in an assimilation of the iconography of the Buddha image by that of Śiva Lakulīśa, on the

Paraśurāmeśvar temple ; together with some of the iconographic formulae moreover some of the form itself of the Buddhist images was assimilated in the corresponding Lakulīśa image and also other Śiva images of the temple in Baramba.

Reception of central Indian Idiom. (10th-11th century). While the images of the major divinities from now onward show, more often than not, if in a varying degree, an Orissan absorption of the Magadhan idiom, it did not enter into the images of the lesser gods and into the great many carvings all over the temple. The images of the lesser gods subsequently, about the year 1000, had their shapes modified so that some of them ressemble the Surasundarīs and Vidyādharas of central India (Pls. XXI, XXII) in their iconography as much as by their form. Nonetheless they retain their Orissan mood and cast though their appearance has assimilated the sharper accents of central Indian sculpture.

At that phase moreover, from the tenth century, Indian images are form conscious. Their form remains, as it had been from the fourth century, equivalent to immediate spiritual realisation or to the means towards it and, in the latter case, in keeping with prescribed norm. From the tenth century, the degrees of spiritual realisation are given shape with varying delicacy. The subtle body in Indian sculpture had served hitherto as place of realisation. Now it figures as an embodiment of the stages of the approach towards realisation. This shows twofold, in the images. They suggest complex emotions in high tension towards the Spirit who, while leaving them behind, resides in the same place where they are active. In this embodiment made by art the gods are manifest. They have no other tangible body of manifestation.

Now the image is not only the symbol or support of realization ; it is the conscious and concrete shape of the stages towards and of the degrees of realisation. It is conscious in each of its lines and profiles, and not only in its proportions. It is the exact embodiment of the celestial whose name it bears or whose class it represents. These lesser gods but for their bodies made by art—they have no others—would not fully exist. In these mature art forms they exist in all their aspects and degrees of sublimity, grace, wizardry and terror ; each is an exact

1



2

XXIV



XXV

counterfeit of the state it represents such as it is known by the devotees in the various provinces of India.

From the metaphysical point of view this amounts to a descent. From the metaphysical point of view, however, an image made by art has its own validity as yantra or means of realisation only.[1] There need, and preferably, there should be no images. From the metaphysical point, however, the correctly made yantra serves its purpose; from the metaphysical point of view of the one who uses the image, if the image made by art is also at the same time a work of immediate intuition this would be a supererogation on the side of the craftsman which does not affect the efficacy of the image as yantra.

While the 'yantra' function is essential to the mediaeval work of art it does not exhaust its nature; on the other hand, as consciously as the purely geometrical yantra is drawn as consciously is the image-yantra now given form. In this lies the virtue of mediaeval Indian sculpture.

The regional differences of the schools are more incisive now than at any other age, for the subtle, the emotional body, is now fully aware of its mode of realisation and its limits. The work of art is made by a kind of intelligible sense awareness; this is channelled by the contingencies of the place, by the 'genius loci'. Together with it the ineluctable process of life ripens the form; the signs of youth, maturity and disintegration are the same everywhere; the age of an art form extends over more than one generation of man, over centuries or millennia, its life obeys cycles whose duration it might not be possible to fix in numbers.

In Orissa, in the eleventh century, the images are fully 'bodied forth' (Pls. XXI-XXIII). In comparison with earlier Orissan sculptures they look like statuary in front of, and barely attached to, the wall. But for exceptions (Pl. XXIII) however the images are stationed parallel

1. The image is put to a similar use as is the geometrical symbol, the yantra. It serves the purpose of realisation; in this respect it is a yantra, a tool. Its nature as a work of art is not identical with this function nor is it exhausted by it as is the 'geometrical' yantra.

A similar mistake, in the opposite direction, has been made in modern architecture. A house if it is a work of architecture is not only a machine (=yantra) serving the purpose to be lived in, it is at the same time a building 'made by art' fulfilling a wider purpose while providing efficiently for its immediate purpose.

to the wall (Pls. XXI-XXII) and their pure contours are outlined against it. They clasp the rotundities of head, body and limbs, their but slightly modified, cylindrical, conical or spherical, shapes. Their modelling is synthetic, the contour steady, without speed, and somewhat blunt. The modelled volumes are compact and suggest the burgeoning of the body. The open smile of the face is its physiognomical expression. Jewelry, garment, flowers and fruits accompany the figures ; they are small shapes whose intricate surfaces set off the smoothness of the rounded planes against which they are carved, whether these represent the limbs of tree-goddesses or the stem of the tree (Pl. XXII).

The images of the tree-goddesses, on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple, had been of diminutive size, their number was not conspicuous, they had their place and played their part together with many other symbols. About the year 1000, in Orissa, the images of the tree goddesses and Surasundarīs have increased in size, number and volume. On the walls of the Liṅgarāja temple their images and those of the Śārdūlas are twice as high than those of all the other images. The reliefs of the latter are framed, as they had been on the earlier Orissan temples, by panels replete with manifold carvings.

The large 'statues' of the goddesses and Śārdūlas are accompanied by further elaborations of the temple wall, such as its division into two main zones or storeys of images (Liṅgarāja, Brahmeśvara) and the attachment of miniature Śikharas, replicas of the main Śikhara, to its ascending buttresses. All these attributes had been fully evolved in central India (Khajurāho) in the tenth century, whence they became incorporated subsequently in the temples of Orissa.

Together with these themes, the mode of sculpture, richer in resolved contrasts, of central India, has its echo in some of the carvings, mainly on the Brahmeśvar temple, but also in Mayurbhañj, in Khiching (Pl. XXV). Attenuated proportions, angularity of elongated limbs, features and movements are not part of the Orissan tradition but they too have been smoothed and their tapering shapes are as if turned on the wheel while the modelling is more animated and differentiated than in the pure, indigenous form. Nonetheless the Khajurāho carvings and those of the Candella school, as far east as Allahabad, remain distinct from the



XXVI

relative simplicity of the Orissan form ; Candella images are rich in dramatic contrast ; gyrating around their own axis, they are modelled with a sophisticated elegance, their limbs are pillar-shaped and encase, bent in sharp angles, the sinuous volumes of the bodies and their concavities full of dark shade. The high tension of the sculptural context extends to the curves of their finger tips, to their chimaeric countenances and to extravagantly shaped and poised chignons ; all these are delicate shapes to the point of being brittle ; in Orissa they are fruity, redolent with sap, drowsily ripened in a rustic lyricism and assembled with clarifying leisure. Here all is smooth, assured and smiling ; all complexities seem eliminated or they have become part of the sturdy ease of the images.[1]

Two types of scrolls : If they are absent from the images they are present in other parts of the carved walls of the temple, on fillets and bases, pilasters and wall panels which they fill as creepers and curls, Kalpalatā's by their iconographic lineage, a multiform vegetation, mind-born. Their roots are in the realm of thought which possesses what it thinks about, all the wealth of the three worlds. Scrolls and creepers are perennial in Indian sculpture. The undulating stalk and its movement,

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1. Certain sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (see also below) are said to have come from Bhuvaneśvar although they are of the Khajurāho type. The Orissan sculptures are more formal, those of Khajurāho more naturalistic in the modelling of certain parts specially the back, the cheeks, etc. Orissan shapes are more smooth and taut, the movements have greater amplitude, the arms of the figures are held away from the body, parallel to the relief ground. In Khajurāho, the preference is for postures where the body appears to turn around its axis, back and front view are combined, the profiles are oversected and the whole volume of the figure together with its space is more dramatic with interpenetrating shapes and shadows.

The profiles too, in Khajurāho are more complex, full of tension and conflicts. The vertical shapes are straight pillars with an upsurge ; in Orissa, their shallow curves stay smoothly where they mark the joints. In Khajurāho the sculptural grip is deeper and more firm ; in Orissa the volumes are placid modifications of stereometrical elements.

The Khajurāho physiognomies are full of salient angles ; they are moreover sophisticated ; In Orissa their broad smoothness is more vegetative, lyrical and rustic.

Jewelry and scarves enhance the intricate elegance of the body in Khajurāho sculptures ; in Orissa their simpler, rugged shapes set off by contrast, the firm and smooth bulk of limbs and body.

Despite these differences, certain images of the Candella school are persistently ascribed to Bhuvaneśvar, not only in official Indian publications but also in the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Indian Art, Burlington House, London 1947-48 (Nos. 249, 251, 252).

the wave, are ubiquitous. Up to the second century B. C. its smooth tubular shape, representing the lotus rhyzome, sends forth from its knots thinner tubular curves, re-entrant and laden with fruits of all kinds, flowers, jewels and clothes. In Orissa, the stalks branching forth from the knots are of equal thickness, the movement of the wave and its return are equally strong ; it carries and encloses flowers, scrollwork and more animals than anywhere in Indian art (Pl. XXIV). But this is not the only kind of scroll. Filling separate panels and also commingling with it, another theme of the wave is profuse with curly shapes, carved straight or obliquely against the ground, full of shade and darkness, agitated, tossed into patterns of further wave and whirl. No gliding stalk carries these curly units (Pl. XXIII).

The lotus rhyzome, issued, in principle, and very frequently also in actual design, from the mouth of the Makara, the monster of the deep, is calm with the flux of the sap of life. It engenders and encompasses many shapes, vegetative, animalic and man made (Pl. XXIV). The agitated scrolls do not stem from any stalk, their origin is not in the waters below. As carved on mediaeval temples, they come out of the mouth of the Face of Glory, are its breath, the vapours in the atmosphere, whence life is engendered. Thence they fill the panels of the walls of the temple set up in 'mid-air' (antarikṣa ; Pl. XXIII).

The mythology of the upper and the lower waters abounds in Orissa ; it accompanies, sets off and surrounds the images with an increasing wealth, in the course of centuries, and attains its climax on the Sun temple of Konarak, in the 13th century. As sculptural theme, the curl cut in oblique and parallel surfaces to the relief ground had been joined with the roundly modelled stalk on door jamb panels of Gupta temples in central India (Deogarh, Bhumara, etc.). Prior to this, the obliquely cut scroll, consisting of 'dot and comma' curves had been employed in Mathura, of about the second century A. D.[1] This type of scroll is at home in Iran, Central Asia and in China,[2] particularly in metal work[3]

1. Smith, 'The Jain Stūpa at Mathurā', Pl. LXIX. Fig. 3.
2. Strzygowski, 'Altai-Iran und Voelkerwanderung' passim.
3. The Tao Tieh, Chinese equivalent of the Face of Glory, millennia prior, on ritual bronzes, to the Kīrttimukha in Indian temples, is composed of such scrolls. These then would have come home, in India, to their proper place.



whence probably it retained its obliquely cut surfaces from which the light is reflected in metal work, and the shades lead gradually towards the darkness of the ground of the relief, in other substances. With the invading nomads, these forms spread not only to the West, to Europe, but also to the South, to India, where Mathurā, under the rule of the Kushānas, was a centre of artistic activities. The persistent transformation of this scroll, subsequently, in the art of the Guptas, and its diffusion in Orissa, where it proliferated in centuries to come, may be seen as records of the assimilation of nomadic tradition in mediaeval India. Whoever ethnically were those who executed it, it thrived on the stones of Orissa, releasing in patterns of intricacy an agitation which served as ground and foil to the placid smoothness of the images (Pl. XXIII).[1]

Orissa, on the eastern shore of India, has drawn from the storehouse of Indian art, treasures accumulated in it which had come from the North. The scroll and the animal had been one formal concept in the art of the people of the northern steppes ; in Orissa, panels full of scrolls in relief, and finally in relief plane upon relief plane (Konarak) are the frame work or the agitated ground from which stand out the larger images.

The scrolls carry a living memory and are an acute expression at the same time ; the obliquely cut scroll-patterned surfaces are astir with rhythms which are kept at bay as far as the images go. They form however the ground itself against which these are set (Pl. XXIII).

The animal style of Orissa, on the other hand, is indigenous (Pl. XXIV). But its being involved in the scroll—albeit of the purely Indian type—, seems once more a reminiscence of its connection with the agitated, obliquely cut scroll of the nomadic art of the steppes. It is as if the components are singled out and each evolved in a world of its own or associated with other components to which it contributes the climate of its own world. In one of the innumerable panels from the Liṅgarāja (Pl. XXIV, 1) can thus be seen—in its upper part—the 'dot and comma' oblique scroll, associated here with the lotus bloom above

1. The chessboard pattern similarly had found acceptance in Gupta sculpture and plays its part in the subsequent centuries, particularly in Orissa, where its black and white pattern is clear cut.

the water;[1] while below, the tubular rhyzome ensconces, curve upon curve, animals in couples.

These relief panels, the realm of memory and metamorphosis (Pl. XXIV), are the texture, 'per artem', of the surface of the wall, and they increase from the tenth century in size, wealth and density. Set against them are the large figures, almost carved in the round, yet displayed parallel to the ground (Bhuvaneśvar, Khiching, etc.).

Below this texture of their surface, the walls, from century to century, are charged with increasing power. From the tenth century, in Baramba, their additive orderliness in the vertical and horizontal is subordinated to their major organisation from the centre whence they step forth, each buttress one unit from the base to the crown of its curvilinear Śikhara. Their themes recur in bilateral symmetry on each of the temples. So there are now (Mukteśvar) the corner buttresses with their emphatically horizontal storeys between the Amalaka-clasps; next to them the recess of vertical miniature shrines. The triple buttress in the centre with its lateral and lower buttresses, as well as its maximum projection in the centre are each overcast by its net-work of Gavākṣas. These vertical constituents of the Śikhara rise from their correspondingly articulated vertical projections on the perpendicular temple wall.

Unification in each major part and an enhanced clarity of the total design in plan and elevation, are qualities of the Mukteśvar temple. The design, in turn, of these buttresses, each being elaborated as one unit, contrasting from its neighbouring buttress or recess, appears additive, although on a higher level of integration than the Paraśurāmeśvar type, if seen against the Liṅgarāja. In this temple all the buttresses are assimilated to one another, none is a unit next to the other, all are charged with one movement and carry it in similar shapes, also in their upward 'thrust' and, graded, in their outward impact and progression. This gradation is effected by the depth of projection of the buttress, the central one being flung far out so that a gulf of shadow sets it off from the

1. The 'dot and comma' scroll, obliquely cut, an emblem of the movement of the celestial waters, is generally associated with the Face of Glory ; in Orissa however its place is, more often than not, held by the lotus flower.



XXVIII

other buttresses which adhere more closely to the body of the temple, though all of them are the body itself of the temple ; their indefinitely large number of stories are but horizontal ripples of its substance, stone striped horizontally like velvet on which the net-work of Gavākṣas has the effect of delicate lace, on the central buttresses so that they appear of one texture ;—their increased projection, the deepened recesses of velvety shadows,—the transformation of the temple-walls is not as yet at an end. The buttresses now play their parts sculpturally, they are no longer prismatic offsets but are substantial volumes straight or curved in section or a combination of both, adjacent corner buttresses meeting at a right angle but with rounded edges—an extension of their Amalaka theme—and straight walls on the two adjacent faces. Like clasps, the round corner Amalakas seem to bind together adjacent walls. Then, across a dark recess, the next buttress projects, convex in section and this roundness is given further accent by the vertical series of miniature half Śikharas strung along its height. These salient roundnesses make the recessed portions appear as if curving in the opposite direction, charged with shadows. At this moment in Orissan architecture, the walls of the Śikhara not only step forth from the centre ; they are not only encrusted with carvings ; they themselves are a gigantic sculpture of curved planes, swelled by the same sap which seems to course in the limbs of the images ; their texture is like velvet, air breathes between the indefinite number of stories which are horizontal ribs, through the whole tower of the temple.

The miniature half Śikharas strung along the intermediate buttresses had found acceptance in Orissa from the more Western schools of Indian mediaeval architecture ; as in the images, so also on the body of the temple, the assimilated shapes widened the scope of the indigenous evolution.

From now onward the images and the body of the temple enter yet one more, their closest and ultimate, relation. The images spring forth from the wall, carved in the round, in scale proportionate to the bulk of the building, commingling their silhouettes with its outline. The lions which seem to fly forth from the Śikhara and the Maṇḍapa roof of the Liṅgarāja and more forcibly even, in the Brahmeśvar temple, knit together

these contrasting roof shapes. In Konarak finally, the pyramid of the triple series of receding roofs of the Maṇḍapa is linked vertically by the free standing, colossal, compact images of celestial musicians (Pl. XXVI—XXVII) and the entire temple-pyramid is fastened to the ground, whence its chariot shape is raised, by gigantic groups of horses, Śārdūlas and elephants. These figures anchor the building to the earth, as they connect its stories in midspace. Space here has entered deep not only into the projections and texture of the walls and its images (Pl. XXVIII), but into the concept of this architecture whose limits are more far flung than are its solid walls.

PLATES

XVII. Siṃhanātha temple, Baramba.
XVIII. Vimāna (Bara-deul) ; Siṃhanātha temple, Baramba.
XIX. Agni ; Siṃhanātha temple, Baramba.
XX. Dancers : middle panel of perforated window, in enclosure of Kapileśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar.
XXI. Vṛkṣakā ; part view. Liṅgarāja temple, Bhuvaneśvar.
XXII. Vṛkṣakā ; Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhuvaneśvar.
XXIII. Detail of carved wall, Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhuvaneśvar.
XXIV. 1. Scroll ; Liṅgarāja temple, Bhuvaneśvar.
XXIV. 2. Scroll ; Khiching, Mayurbhanj.
XXV. Scroll, detail ; Khiching, Mayurbhanj.
XXVI. Celestial musician ; figure on roof of Maṇḍapa (Jagamohan), Konarak.
XXVII. Celestial musician ; part view of another figure on roof of maṇḍapa, Konarak.
XXVIII. The Kiss (part view of Mithuna), Konarak.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT :

Pls. XX and XXII are stills from "Saga in Stone". Indian Film Division Documentary (photographs directed by the writer) ; Pls. XVII—XIX XXI. XXVI—XXVIII are photographs by Sri P. Neogy ; The other Plates are from photographs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle.

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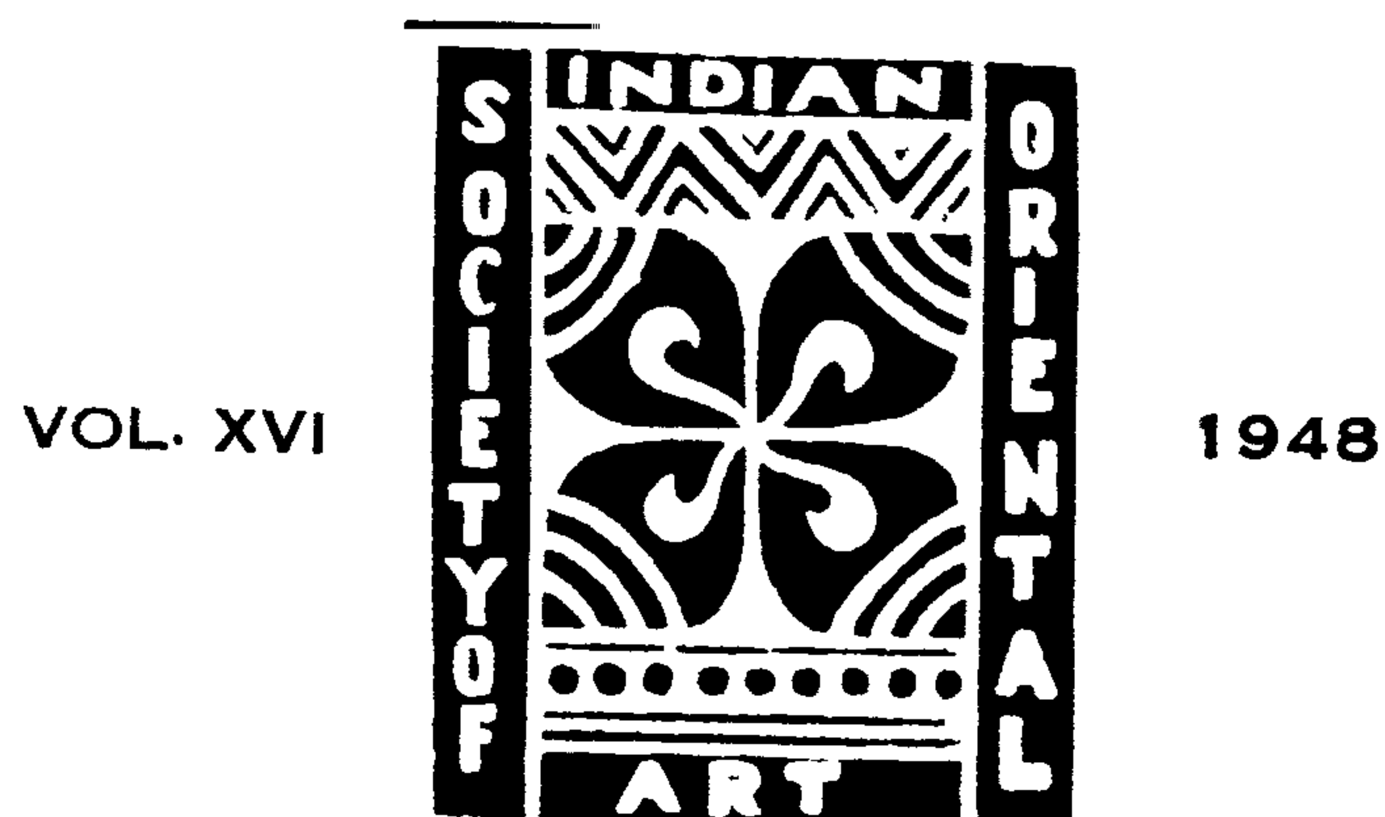


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VOL. XVI. | CONTENTS | 1948



Ananda K. Coomaraswamy Photo by Dorothy Norman

THE LAST TIME I SAW COOMARASWAMY

By Dorothy Norman

Suddenly I had an urgent desire to see Coomaraswamy. I went to Boston in order to do so. I took my camera with me. For years I had wanted to photograph that extraordinarily sensitive head, but I had failed to do so. Why I now felt such sudden urgency I cannot say. I had had no word that Coomaraswamy was ill. I had no reason to believe that the end was so near.

We met at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Coomaraswamy was at his desk working when I came in. The desk, as always, was buried under masses of documents. At once, and as always also, without a moment's delay, we were in the midst of a discussion about symbolism, art, India, America.

The voice was rather strained. The skin was almost frighteningly transparent. The long, delicate hands, the entire body, moved with unaccustomed effort.

I photographed only briefly. The light was dim. I had no artificial lights with me. I was filled with fear that any exertion might prove tiring. I continued to be afraid, even while we spoke, that any protracted expenditure of energy might be harmful. But Coomaraswamy seemed as eager to talk as ever before, and he spoke with his usual classic languor, combined with disguised passion.

"American preoccupation with improved 'design' is utterly meaningless." He spoke as from a great distance. But the peculiarly toneless aspect of the voice seemed to heighten, rather than to lessen, the intensity of what was said.

"To have any significance," he observed, "a rug, a house, anything that man creates, must possess far more than what is called 'good design.' Certainly it must have quality too. But, even more than

that, it must be a living symbol to those who make it and use it of an entire approach to life."

How often we had spoken of the same theme, of how everything man-made must have a deeply religious meaning. Of how it must be made with the gods in mind, and in their image. Of how it must face toward the gods, reach toward the gods, symbolize the gods.

According to Coomaraswamy a work of art must be made in the Thomist sense. Art to him was simply the right way of making things. The right way, which went beyond mere craft. The right way, which embodied the right-spirit—all great traditions being right, all great traditions being equal one to the other.

And how did one know what was the right way? This was a question upon which Coomaraswamy wasted little time. Either one knew or one did not know. He spoke of the found, the saved and the lost. Of how the found were those who knew; the priests, the seers. The saved were those whom it was possible to teach, with whom it was possible to communicate. And then there were the lost, those who did not themselves automatically know the right way; those whom one could somehow not teach.

He spoke, as always, of the American error of thinking of art in terms of originality. And of Gandhi in relationship to art: "Gandhi," he remarked, "can be looked upon as a moral saint. But not as an aesthetic saint. He said, for example, that a woman should not wear a necklace. Had he been also an aesthetic saint he would have said, 'If a necklace is to be worn then it should be a good necklace.' "

We spoke of another of Coomaraswamy's favorite subjects: the wrong way, to him, in which contemporary museums exhibit contemporary objects. "It is absurd to put objects that are properly part of one's daily life into museums, with the mistaken idea that anything is made merely to be looked at."

He spoke with great feeling of a book he was eager for me to read, Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism?, *by* Bharatan Kumarappa.

He agreed with what Gandhi had written in the foreword, *that "Villagism as it is being attempted in India, based as it is on truth and non-violence, is well calculated to avert the doom" of annihilation*

toward which mankind is rushing by continuing "along its mad career of exploitation of the weak by the strong."

To Coomaraswamy, just as one could not think of a rug, or a house, or any other artifact, in terms of design alone, so one could not think of the right way of living in terms of the individual alone. One must take into consideration the individual's relationship to, and his concept of, the community as a whole.

The ideal of villagism in the Gandhian sense represented to Coomaraswamy a goal higher than that of capitalism or socialism; a goal higher than that of either mere individualism or mere centralization of power.

He believed with Tagore that "Men have been losing their freedom and their humanity in order to fit themselves for vast mechanical organisations." With Tagore he hoped that "the next civilization" might be based not on "economic and political competition and exploitation but upon world-wide social co-operation; upon spiritual ideals of reciprocity, and not upon economic ideals of efficiency. . . ."

Coomaraswamy spoke that day, too, of Meister Eckhart, and with particular warmth. For in his last years Coomaraswamy merged more and more intensely in his own thought the great tradition of the West and the great tradition of the East, just as he felt that such a merging must take place in the world at large.

As we said good-bye he shook his head sadly about how few Indians seem to realize the meaning of the great tradition they have inherited, or to live in its image. He spoke with even greater sadness of the way in which America has lost all sense of the great tradition. But, he remarked, because India still clings to her great tradition, at least to some degree—even though sometimes wrongly—she represents a greater hope for the world than does any country in the West. The revival of a positive attitude toward villagism, he said, and the possibility that an enlightened co-operative society might be created in India filled him with great hope. He tapped Kumarappa's book with the same reverence he might have displayed in handling a piece of great Indian art.

There was something deeply moving about hearing the far away

voice sharing the quintessence of what the long and dedicated life had taught. But I left with a heavy heart nevertheless. The skin was a shade too transparent. The voice was a shade too weak. The body seemed almost alarmingly fragile. When I left I said sadly to those whom I joined, "That extraordinary man will soon die. I shall never see him again."

Within little over a week I received word that Coomaraswamy had died.

SOME EARLY RĀJASTHĀNĪ RĀGA PAINTINGS

by W. NORMAN BROWN

An unusual series of rāga paintings in early Rājasthānī style was shown me in Delhi in March, 1948, by the distinguished Jain scholar Itihāsa Tattvamahodadhi Jaina Ācārya Vijayendra Sūri. The series and the manuscript containing it are incomplete. Illustrations of only twenty rāgas survive, which are shown, to a page, on the reverse (numbered) sides of ten folios, bearing the numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15. The last folio has no colophon and seems clearly not to have been the final folio of the complete manuscript.

The manuscript is of paper, and its format is native Indian. This feature is unusual for Rājasthānī illustrated books. The writing runs the long way of the page and the pages turn from bottom to top, unlike the Persian style manuscripts produced in India, on which most Rājasthānī paintings appear. In the latter the page turns from right to left and the writing generally runs the short way of the page.

The folios measure about 10½ by 4½ in. (= about .026 by .012 m.) These dimensions correspond to the general range of dimensions of illustrated Western Indian paper manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries and are smaller than the dimensions of most illustrated Western Indian manuscripts of the late 17th and 18th centuries.

Five of the folios are not original wholes, but consist as now preserved of two pieces, each containing a painting, which have been tightly stuck together (see Plates II middle and bottom, III top, middle and bottom). The other folios are original wholes.

At the top of the page above each painting is the name of the rāga which the painting illustrates. On the other side of the folio is a stanza in old Hindī describing the rāga and indicating the intention of the painting. In several cases the name of the rāga as it appears above the

painting and the name given in the stanza do not exactly correspond in form, though both may refer to the same subject. The handwriting of the title above the painting differs from that of the Hindī text. A copyist with pretensions as a calligrapher wrote the poetic text, but someone else, whose handwriting was more commonplace, made the guiding notes for the artist.

The paper of the folios is of a kind commonly used for Western Indian manuscripts of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and is not distinctive.

The colour scheme of the paintings is simple, as in the case of early Rājasthānī paintings, though not quite so restricted as the colour scheme of Early Western Indian paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries. The prevailing colours are vermilion, a medium blue, green, yellow, white, black. Occasionally a salmon is used, as for the man's dhotī in Plate III middle, lefthand side. Several times a light brown appears, as in the body colour of the man in Plate II middle, lefthand side, and in the same plate bottom, righthand side, of the man at the left, and again of the male figures in Plate III bottom, both sides.

The artist seems first to have applied the yellow margins and interstice between miniatures, leaving blank the spaces for the miniatures themselves. It is not apparent from anything in the paintings that he did any drawing before applying the pigment. Instead, he seems to have painted the figures and main furnishings of the scene directly. Then he filled in the background ; afterwards he outlined the figures and furnishings with red lines. Finally he added the accessory personal ornaments and other minor decorative elements.

All faces are shown in full profile, as in Rajput paintings generally, and unlike the convention of Early Western Indian painting, which shows most faces in three-quarters profile, with the outside corner of the farther eye protruding into space. The eye in the present paintings is unusually large and is often shaped like the body of a fish ('mīnākṣa') or else imperfectly so shaped.

Men wear dhotī or paijāmas, women dhotī or a skirt. Women also wear a bodice and both sexes are likely to wear a scarf very delicately indicated (Plate II bottom, lefthand side, all three figures). Women wear

small puffs at the wrists and elbows and sometimes at the shoulders, and rows of flowers indicated by white dots along the hairbraid and over the top of the head. Men occasionally have a similar flower ornament in the hair (Plate III middle, lefthand side.) Men may wear a turban wound around a conical cap (Plate I top, righthand side.)

The architectural settings, the treatment of trees, the manner of showing clouds, and the solid colour backgrounds, whether red, blue, black, or green, are all characteristic of early Rājasthānī paintings, as in the Rasikāpriya manuscript now represented in a half-dozen American museums (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Freer Gallery of Art, Brooklyn Museum, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Cleveland Art Museum, Albright Gallery) and apparently coming from the early 17th century and in a more elaborate style of painting from the end of the same century also represented in many paintings, for example in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad (see 'Indian Art and Letters', vol 21, 1947, facing p. 68).

The artist of these paintings had a free flowing style, full of action, He had a sure and unhesitant manner, with great variety of pose. As paintings these are among the best of the period.

The manuscript bears no date, but a guess concerning its period is not too difficult to make. The style of the painting is only a degree more advanced than that of the transitional style of painting from Early Western Indian to Rajput shown in a manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, dated equivalent to A. D. 1591. and reported as Ms. JP. in W. Norman Brown, 'Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,' New Haven, 1941. (This manuscript now is exhibited as a part of the collection of the Baroda Museum.) The date of the paintings discussed here would seem, therefore, to be only a few years later. The style of page and of its ornament also adds to the impression that the paintings were executed in or about the first quarter of the 17th century.

The language of the text seems close to Braj. Distinction between dental 'n' and retroflex 'ṇ' is uncertain, usually 'n' is written. Similarly 'r' is sometimes used for 'ḍ' ('torati' = 'toḍati' ; 'sārī' for 'sāḍī' ; 'ṣ' is regularly written for 'kh'. Some interesting words are 'puhapa' = Skt. 'puṣpa' ; 'saina', = Skt. 'śayana' ; 'tṛyā' = Skt. 'strī' (?).

Description of the Paintings

Plate I

Top. Folio 3, lefthand side. 'rāga paṭamaṃjarī'. On the obverse is a 'dohā': 'chīnagāta aru malina mana mahāviyogi na jāna
baiṭhī ṭhoḍī hātha dhari paṭamaṃjarī baṣāna'

"With body wasted away and depressed in mind, when in separation [from her beloved] she goes nowhere. She sits with chin supported in her hand reciting the Paṭamaṃjarī [rāginī]".

The disconsolate mistress is clearly the figure at the left, and her forlorn state is emphasized by the dishevelled appearance of her hair, which is not in the usual neat braid of this series. She wears almost no ornaments. Facing her is a friend or attendant, evidently trying to enliven her. The black sky seems to indicate that the time is night. The mistress' body is yellow, the attendant's a light brown. Both wear dhotī, bodice, and scarf.

Top. Folio 3, righthand side. 'rāga lalita'. On the obverse is a 'dohā': 'pahireṃ bahu bhūṣana basana sobhita goreṃ māta
saina karati nija seja para lalita rāginī prāta'

"Wearing many ornaments and garments, splendid, the fair mistress lies exhausted upon her bed at dawn—the Lalita rāginī."

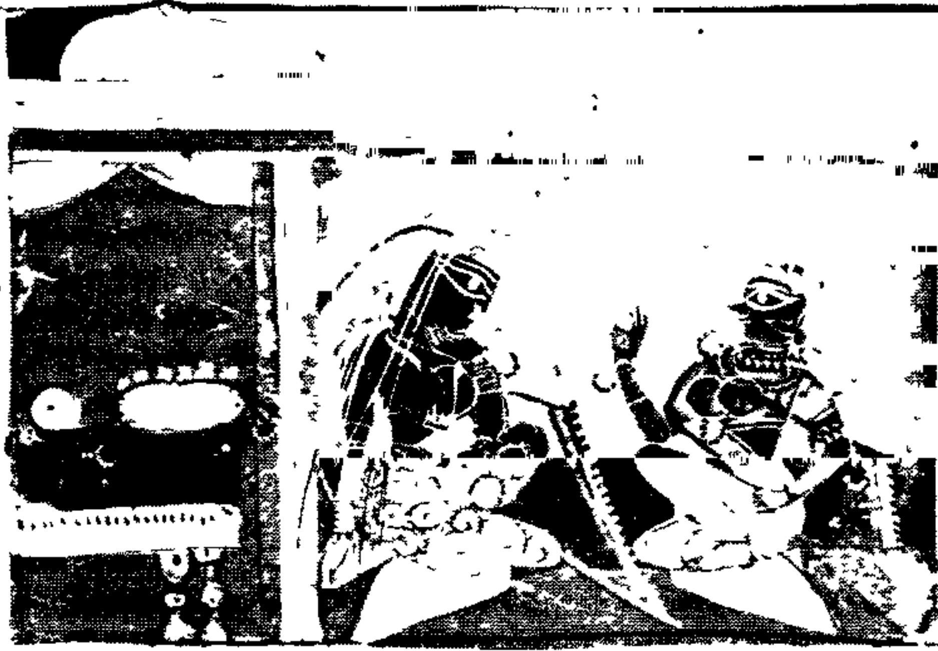
The bed cover is red, the pillow and foot cushion, green. In the blue sky the rising red sun indicates that the time is dawn ; and the lover slips away into the darknesss shown by the black background, throwing a last look at his mistrress, who however, seems too exhausted to follow him with her own glance.

Middle. Folio 4, lefthand side, śrīrāga'. 'dohā':
'baiṭhe suṃdara bhuvana maiṃ caura ḍulāvati nāri
laṣi sobhā śrīrāga kī tana mana ḍārati vāri'

"He sits in a beautiful mansion and a woman waves a fly-whisk over him. Contemplating the splendour of the Śrī rāga the groom is perfectly concentrated in mind."

Against a red background is shown the hero seated on a blue cushion ornamented in yellow. His body is light brown ; his garments white. He

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wears a moustache and short beard ; on his head is a pagrī (turban) with cap. Around his knees is a band to help him hold the meditative pose. In his left hand is an unidentifiable object, possibly 'pān' (betel nut wrapped in leaf). The female attendant, who may possibly be his mistress, wears a green skirt. Inside the pavilion is a bed ; the sky whether above the pavilion or seen through it, is blue.

Middle. Folio 4, righthand side. 'rāga aḍānā.' 'caupāī' :

'kakubha rāginī viraha satāī pahari pīta paṭa bana maiṃ āī
puhapa hāra chavi kahata na āvai gaura aṃga saba ke mana bhāvai'

"Kakubha rāginī. Tortured by separation, wearing a yellow garment, gone to the forest carrying flowers and reciting his beauty, she returns not ; her fair body excites everyone's mind."

The stanza says she wears a yellow garment, which would be that of an ascetic, but the painting shows it as red. Overhead lowers a cloud. The black background seems to indicate that the time is night, though around her figure the ground is blue. The trees of the forest and the flowers in her hands are conspicuously represented.

Bottom. Folio 5, lefthand side. 'rāga ṣaṃbhāvatī'. 'caupāī' :

'caturānana sauṃ beda paḍhāvai vidhi sauṃ homa kerai ru karāvai
cīra suraṃga aṃga chavi chājai gaura barana ṣaṃbhāvati rājai'

"Like the four-faced One (Brahmā) he teaches the Vedas ; like Vidhi (Brahmā) he performs (read 'karai' for 'kerai' ?) and causes [others] to perform the fire-oblation. A bright garment covers the beauty of [her ?] body; [her ?] fair colour gleams—Khambhāvatī [rāginī]."

The four-faced and four-armed figure on the stool appears to be the hero representing himself as the god Brahmā. His two upper hands are in gestures of instruction ; one of the lower hands holds the vessel for sacrificial water. Opposite him sits the heroine on a green cushion, extending in her two hands an unidentified object.

Bottom. Folio 5, righthand side. 'rāga rāmakalī.' 'dohā' :

'sveta barana sārī sarasa sobhita goreṃ gāta
baiṭhī piya sauṃ māna kari rāmakarī anaṣāta'

"Wearing a white-coloured sāṛī ('sārī = sāḍī' ?), vivacious, adorned, fair of body, seated she appears honoured by her lover—the Rāmakarī [rāginī]."

The white sāṛī, very diaphanous, is draped across the heroine's face, which she turns away from her lover. The edge of the sāṛī runs from the right hand, which holds it over the head, down to the left elbow, and diagonally down the right thigh to the cushion.

Plate II.

Top. Folio 6, lefthand side. 'rāga velāula.' 'dohā' :

'prītama kauṃ mana maiṃ bhajai bhūṣana sajai sujāna
baiṭhī graha saṃketa maiṃ belāvālī baṣāna'

"She adores her beloved in her mind and cleverly arranges her ornaments, while seated at home in assignation—the recitation of the Velāvalī [rāginī]."

The heroine sits on a cushion with a maid servant seated before her holding a mirror in which the heroine's face is reflected, The heroine's colour is blue, as it is also in the companion miniature on the same folio and on folio 13, righthand side.

Top. Folio 6, righthand side. 'rāga vayarāḍī'. 'dohā' :

'dhare puhapa maṃdāra ke kaṃcana kalasa majhāra (read 'ri' ?)
torati baiṭhī gunakarī surati kela mana dhāri'

"She sets mandāra flowers in a golden jar and seated plucks them—Guṇakarī [rāginī]—with her mind fixed on love's sport".

It appears that the names Vayarāḍī and Gunakarī (or Guṇakarī) are variant names of the same rāginī. Three blocks of colour are used in the background ; blue inside the house, red behind the heroine, black behind the flower pots.

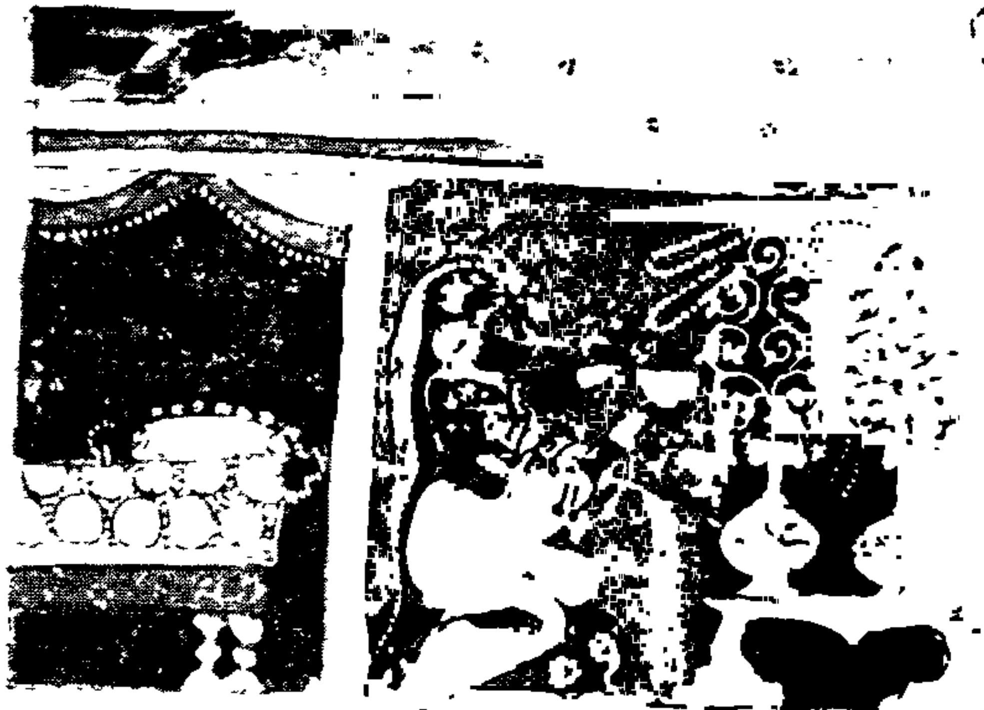
Middle. Folio 10, lefthand side. 'rāga dīpaka'. 'dohā' :

'gorī saṃga sobhita mahā deṣata dīpaka ora
aṃkamāla dai kuca gaheṃ dīpaka rāga kisora'

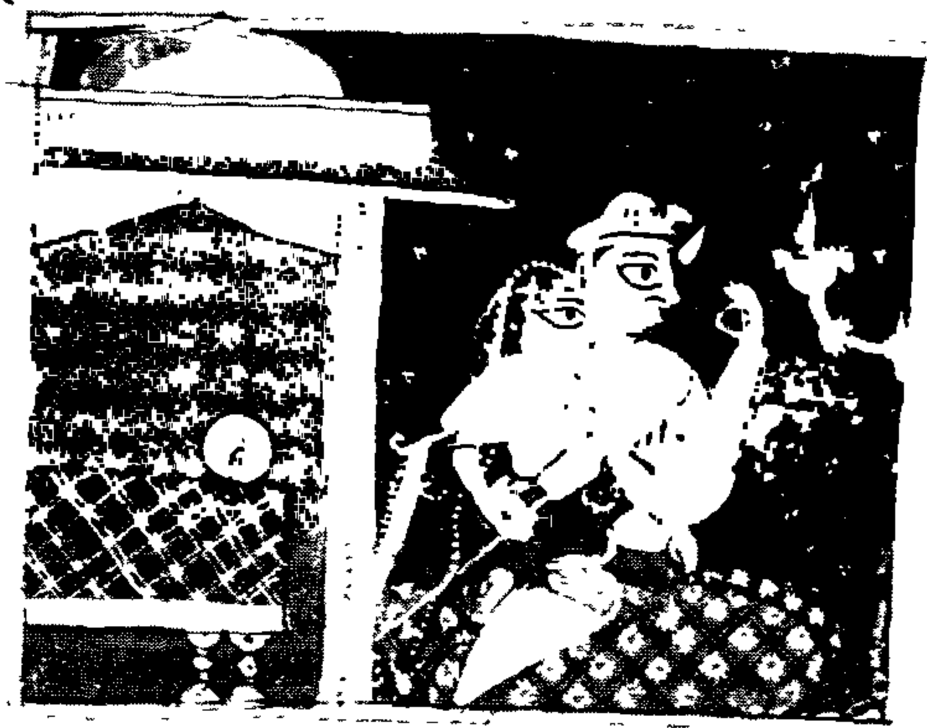
"The lover, youthful, well adorned, in company with his fair one, looks toward the flame, holding her right breast in an embrace—the Dīpaka rāga."

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The bright red flame rises from a wall lamp set in a bracket. The bed cover is green ; the cushion on which the hero and heroine are seated is red.

Middle. Folio 10, righthand side. 'rāga dhanyāsī'. 'dohā' :
'ativicitra pāṭī liyeṃ citra bahu bhāṃti
dhanāsirī suṃdari mahā nīlakamala kī kāṃti'

"Taking a lovely drawing-board she draws his picture in many forms—Dhanāsirī—the great beauty, with the loveliness of the blue lotus."

Though the stanza compares the heroine to a blue lotus, the painting shows her face and body to be green. The drawing-board is of the sort commonly used by school children in India to-day, and they, like the heroine here, use a crayon or chalk.

Bottom. Folio 11, lefthand side. 'rāga vasaṃta', 'caupāī' :
'māthem mukuṭa vīnakara rajai nṛtya karata manauṃ maina virājai
phūle aṃbalatā cahūṃ ora kūkati kokila bolata mora
tākī saṣī mṛdaṃga bajāvai suṃdara aṃga basaṃta kahāvai'

"With crest on head, and lute in hand, Madana (the god of love) is resplendent and as he dances he enthralls our minds. Mango tendrils flower on all sides ; the cuckoo calls ; the peacock cries. Therefore a friend, a girl, beats the mṛdanga drum and describes his fair body —Vasanta (spring)."

Fully ornamented Krishna—or the hero in the guise of Krishna— dances at the arrival of spring. Besides the girl beating the drum another clashes cymbals. The mango tree at the right is full of flower spikes. The background indicating the sky is intentionally stippled with red on blue.

Bottom. Folio 11, righthand side. 'rāga kanhaḍo'. 'dohā' :
'eka hātha ṣāṃḍau liyeṃ dūje kara gajadaṃta
laṣi sobhā karanāṭakī cārana virada paḍhaṃta'

"In one hand a sword, in the second hand an elephant's tusk— observing his beauty a bard recites a panegyric—the Karaṇātakī [rāginī]."

Krishna, with blue body, stands as described. The bard seems to be accompanied by a second, shown smaller than himself, between him and the god. Krishna stands under what appears to be a cornice supported by a curving bracket.

Inset on p. 10.

Folio 12, lefthand side. 'rāga désakāla'. 'dohā' :

'baiṭhī atiālasa bharī mauna dhareṃ aiṃḍāta
nīla barana sārī lasai gaṃdhārī subha gāta'

"Seated weighed down from weariness, staying silent, she twists herself ; her lovely body gleams in a blue colored sāṛī—Gandhārī".

The sāṛī is white, not blue. The heroine's body is remarkably twisted in a pose that is graceful enough but hardly seems restful.

Folio 12, righthand side. 'rāga vilāsa bāyānaṭa'. 'caupāī' :

'prītama pāsa vaiṭhi suṣa ṛāvai eka hātha sauṃ caura ḍulāvai
bhayau kāma basa jākau kaṃta bairāṭī atijobanavaṃta'

"Seated beside her beloved she enjoys happiness ; with one hand she waves a fly-whisk, while her lover, so youthful, has fallen under love's spell—the Bairāṭī [rāginī]".

The camara (fly-whisk) is red. The hero holds at his mouth a small green object, which may be 'pān' (betel nut wrapped in leaf), while the heroine coquettishly turns away from him.

Plate III.

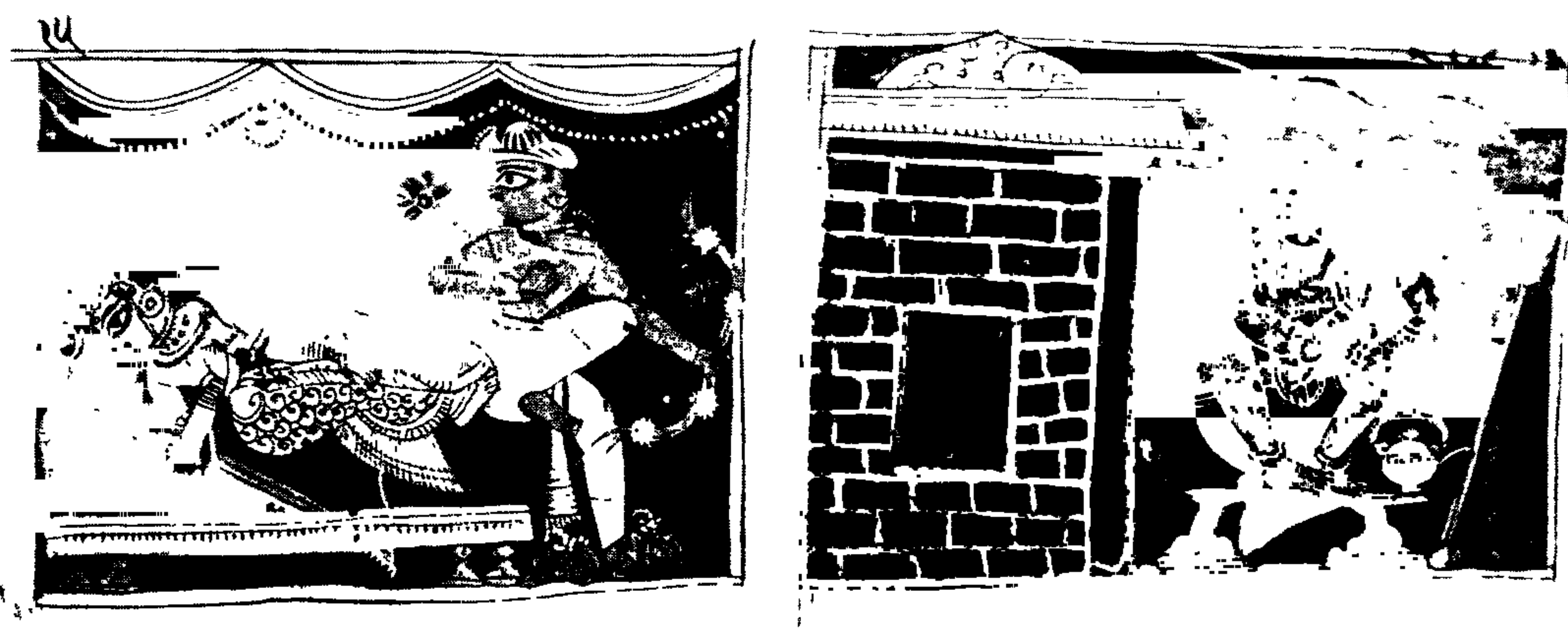
Top. Folio 13, lefthand side. 'rāga mālakośa'. 'kavitta' :

'sone kauṃ mukuṭa māthem bhūṣana bibidhi sohaiṃ sone hī kau
siṃghāsana subhaga banāyau hai sone sī salonī tṛyā
āgeṃ ṭhāḍhī liyeṃ pāna sone hī kau pāna dāna parama suhāyau hai
eka saṣī pāchetem ḍulāvati hai caura āchem sone sau bhuvana
saba sone hi sauṃ chāyau hai ānada sauṃ virī ṣāta upamāṃna
kahī jāta sone hī se gāta mālakausa man bhāyau hai'

"A golden crest is on his head ; various sorts of ornaments glitter [on him) : an auspicious lion-throne has been arranged [for him] : in front of him stands a woman like gold, who has taken 'pān' from a most elegant pān-box and felicitates him with it. Behind him a female







friend waves a fly whisk. He is in a house of gold ; everything is covered with gold. Happily (read 'ānaṃda' for 'ānada' ?) he eats betel ('virī'= 'biḍi' ?). His body is said to be like gold. His mind is happy—the Mālakosa [rāga]."

The picture does not correspond to the stanza. It shows the hero seated on a bed, while before him are two musicians, one playing a lute, the other clashing cymbals. The metre of the stanza seems incorrect.

Top. Folio 13, righthand side. 'rāga gūjarī'. 'dohā' :

'pahireṃ bahu bhūṣana basana dhareṃ kaṃdha para bīna
syāma salonī gūjarī rāgina parama prabīna'

"Wearing many ornaments and fine clothes, holding a lute at her shoulder, dark, lovely, superbly accomplished—the Gūjarī rāginī."

The heroine, leaning back on a couch of leaves, her body a dark blue, looks up at a flowering tree in which sits a bird—black and looking for all the world like the despised crow but possibly meant for a maina.

Middle. Folio 14, lefthand side. 'rāga kamoda'. 'caupāī' :

'līne hātha accha kī mālā āsana tara sobhita mṛga chāla
jāpa karata gaṃgā ke tīra rāga kamoda mahāmati dhīra'

"Holding a rosary of nuts in his hand, with a beautiful deer skin on top ('tara = tala ?') of his seat, on the bank of the Ganges the mighty-minded, steadfast [hero] mutters prayers—the Kamoda rāga."

The rosary does not appear in the hero's hand, nor is the deer skin, which is customary in religious meditation, draped over his seat. Though in religious exercise, he wears flowers in his hair.

Middle, Folio 14, righthand side. 'rāga goḍī'. 'gaurī' :

'caṃpaka barana gaura tana bhanau ṭhāḍhī bāga mohanī manau'
'kalpavṛccha gucchā liyeṃ hātha rūpa urvvasī saṣī na sātha'

"With body fair of colour like a caṃpaka flower, she tarries in the garden, confused of mind. In her hand she takes a cluster of wishing-tree flowers. in beauty she is like Urvaśī : no companion is with her."

The heroine's distraught state is symbolized by the disheveled appearance of her hair. The entire background of this painting, as of its companion on the same folio, is blue. Two of the three trees are in bloom.

Bottom. Folio 15, lefthand side. 'rāga vibhāsa.' 'dohā' :
'nija patinī kī seja para baiṭhe karata vilāsa
puṣpadhanuka kara maiṃ liyeṃ sobhita rāga vibhāsa'

"Seated on his wife's bed he engages in love's sport, lovely, holding the flower bow in his hand—the Vibhāsa rāga."

The bow in the hero's left hand is that of Kāma, the god of love, made of sugar-cane, with a bowstring composed of bees. In his right hand he holds a flower, which is perhaps meant to be one of Kāma's flower-tipped shafts. His shoes are noteworthy.

Bottom. Folio 15, righthand side. 'rāga baṃgālī'. 'caupāī' :
'viraha dahī baṃgālina nāri kāmarūpa riṣi chavi anuhāra
gaṃgā udaka kamaṃḍala bharai bhojapatra tana basatara dharai'

"Burnt from separation the Bengali woman assumes at her will the form of a sage. She fills her vessel with Ganges water ; she wears garments of birchbark.'



THE LAST OF THE GREAT COLA TEMPLES

by K. R. SRINIVASAN

The revival of the imperial Coḷa line on the accession of Kulottuṅga I (Eastern Cāḷukya Prince Rājendra) to the Coḷa throne in 1070 A. D. at a time when the line founded by Vijayālaya Coḷa (in c. 850 A. D.) threatened to come to an end, marks the second phase of Coḷa ascendency and their achievements in the South. Kulottuṅga was more Coḷa than Cāḷukya since his mother and his father's mother were Coḷa princesses. The kings of this Coḷa-Cāḷukya line, which came to an end in 1246 A. D. with the ascendency of the Pāṇḍyas to power, were as great builders as their forbears—Vijayālaya, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja the Great and Rājendra I.

This infusion of new blood into the Coḷa line brought about the second vigorous phase not only in Coḷa administration and politics but also in literature and art. We shall concern ourselves here mainly with the last, and take as our examples two of the largest and most outstanding monuments and deal with their architecture in some detail especially since they have not been sufficiently noticed hitherto by writers on South Indian temple architecture. They are the 'Airāvateśvara' in Dārāśuram and 'Kampahareśvara' in Tribhuvanam, both places situated near Kumbakoṇam in the Tanjore district. They come in the line of the great temples or 'Jāti-vimānas' of the Coḷas, of which the well known Brihadīśvara temples in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Coḷapuram are the 'magnum opus' of the Coḷas. In their main components both the Airāvateśvara and Kampahareśvara temples are more or less later editions of the two temples mentioned above including later developments in the architectural motifs of the Drāviḍa order.

1. THE AIRĀVATEŚVARA.

The Airāvateśvara, called Rājarājeśvara in its inscriptions, was built by Rājarāja II (1146-1173 A. D.). While the name of the temple later became Airāvateśvara in accordance with its 'Sthalāpurāṇa' the name of the village got corrupted from Rājarājeśuram and finally into Dārāśuram.[1]

The temple in its original condition seems to have had a number of 'prākāras' with 'gopura' entrances to each. Only one of the gopuras in front of the great temple is now extant. Axially the main temple consists of the 'vimāna' with its 'ardhamaṇḍapa' facing east, the latter

1. See Annual Reports, Epigraphy Madras, Inscriptions Nos 16-23 also ibid. 1925, No. 255. The epigraphist in paragraphs 65 and 66 of his report for 1908 (p. 80) says "The Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram is built in the style of the Kampahareśvara temple at Tribhuvanam and both of them seem to have been copied from the Tanjore temple. It is thus not impossible that the Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbakoṇam which is called Rājarājīśvara in its inscriptions, was either renovated or built by the Coḷa king Kulottuṅga III." In his report for 1920 paragraph 22 on p, 102 he definitely says that it was constructed by Kulottuṅga III. The presence of two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja (1163-79 A. D.), the predecessor of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1223 A. D.) on the throne—Nos. 18 and 19 of 1908 one of which was of his 12th year (1175 A. D.), points to the existence of the temple before Kulottuṅga III. The inscription 17 of 1908 is of the 21st year of Rājarāja evidently Rājarāja II and would correspond to 1167 A. D. The construction of the temple must therefore be placed before 1167 A. D. An inscription of Kulottuṅga III, 20 of 1908 dated 1186 A. D. calls the temple Rājarājeśvaram and the place Rājarājapuram and provides for gifts of lands for repairs to the temple. A late Pāṇḍya inscription (23 of 1908) and another (22 of 1908) dated 1486 A. D. call it by the corrupted name of Rāvāśuram or Irārāśuram.

In his Sanskrit inscriptions in Tribhuvanam Kulottuṅga III is said to have repaired or renovated among other places the Rājarājeśvara. In his two Tamil inscriptions from Pudukkoṭṭai (Nos 163 and 166) he is said to have been pleased to cover with gold of ornamental work the Rājarājīśvaram to the glory of its creator, his great ancestor who was snatched away by the Lord of Death. This is an explicit statement by Kulottuṅga III about the real founder of Rājarājīśvaram. Perhaps his grant of lands (20 of 1908) to provide for repairs to the temple has a reference to this activity which related to the gilding of the 'Śikhara' with gold leaf on brass or copper plate.

It will be seen in the course of the description that follows that contrary to what the Epigraphist says the Airāvateśvara and Kampahareśvara not only differ from each other but also from the Tanjore temple. In view of what has been said above we cannot agree with Smith (V. A.) who says that 'the architecture and sculpture of the temple at Dārāsuram in the Tanjore district closely resemble those of the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram and must be of approximately the same age'. ('History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' pp. 225-26). The temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram was built by Rājendra Cola I (1012-1044 A. D.) and is clearly a century earlier than the Dārāśuram temple and more so than the Tribhuvanam temple.

connected in front by a north-south transept (iḍaikali) with the closed 'mahāmaṇḍapa' which is preceded by a pillared 'agramaṇḍapa' having a portico on its south.

This 'maṇḍapa' is called 'Rājagambīran[1] tirumaṇḍapam' (the sacred 'maṇḍapa' of Rājagambhīra) and is built to simulate a chariot on wheels. The entire construction is of well dressed granitic stone and the 'adiṣṭhāna' is raised above ground level by an elaborate podium or pedestal, the 'upapīṭha'. On this account the South Indian architects would call this, as they do the two Brihadīśvaras, a 'Māḍakkoyil' or 'uttama-vimāna' and classify it as of the 'Meru' type. The Brihadīśvara in Tanjore is called 'Dakṣiṇa-meru' in its inscriptions.

The 'Samacaturāśra vimāna'[2] enclosing the 'garbhagṛha' with its 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is raised on the 'upapīṭha' (or 'kuraḍu') which has a 'padmadala jagatippaḍai[3]' or expanded lotus base (çyma) ; the dado is decorated by a series of flat pilasters the recesses between which contain bas-reliefs of animals, such as lions and bulls and dancing bhūtas. The surbase is a sort of a heavy cornice moulding or 'kapota' which is adorned by a series of 'kūḍu' ornaments, one above each pilaster strip and 'koḍikka-rukku' (scroll work) in between them and at the corners, The arches of the 'kūḍus' enclose circles containing many small figurines in semi-relief which depict dancers, bulls, etc. Over this 'kapota', runs a 'vyālavari', a

1. Rājagambhīra seems to have been one of the little known surnames of Rājarāja II. That it was one of his surnames is clear from an inscription from Tiruppanandāl, Tanjore district (no. 45 of 1914), of Parākesari Rājarāja II which relates to the construction of a processional road from the temple to the river and the naming of it as Rājagambhīran Tiruvīdi. (see Epigraphist's report for 1915, p. 99, paragraph 26). It will therefore be correct to assume that this 'maṇḍapa' (like the road elsewhere) was named after the title Rājagambhīra while the temple came to be called Rājarājeśvara after his more recognised name. See also ibid. for 1928-29 No. 128 and part II p 76 paragraph 36.

2. 'Vimāna' is the name denoting the principal structure containing the 'garbhagṛha' used in South Indian inscriptions. It is defined as the entire structure between the 'upāna' below and 'stūpi' above.

3. 'Paḍai' and 'vari' are architectural terms in Tamil denoting a tier or horizontal course of similar architectural members, e. g. the 'Jagatippaḍai', 'Kumudappaḍai', 'Varippaḍai' 'Tāḍippaḍai', 'Upānavari', 'Kumudavari', 'Vyāḷavari', etc.

frieze of leonine griffins, projecting beyond the corners in the form of jutting 'makara' heads.

The pedestal proper or the 'pīṭha', or 'adisṭhāna' as it is also called, occupies a smaller square thus leaving a fairly wide circumambulatory passage on top of the 'upapīṭha', called in Tamil the 'Āḷoḍi'. The width of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is lesser than that of the 'vimāna' proper thereby exposing to view a part of the front wall of the shrine on either side. Its 'pīṭha' has a well formed 'padmadala' basis forming the top course of a stepped up 'upāna'. The 'padmadala' base seems to suggest a 'padma kośa' conception of the shrine. Above, and separated from it by a short but sharp constriction, is a smooth torus moulding, the 'kumuda' or 'kumudavari', semi-circular in section and with a linear series of lotus petals above and below it. A short intervening dado or 'kaṇṭha' separates the 'kumuda' from the topmost member of the 'adhiṣṭhāna', the 'kapota' or cornice moulding. The 'kaṇṭha' is relieved at intervals by pilaster-like strips enclosing miniature panels portraying nymphs and 'bhūtas' in different poses of dance and merriment, sages, men and animals

The 'kapota' like its counterpart below in the socle, is embellished by a number of 'kūḍus' superposed over the pilaster strips below and in the intervals between them and on the corners are flourishes of 'koḍikka-rukku'. Over this 'kapota' runs a second 'vyālavari' marking off the top of the adiṣṭhāna.[1] Inside the gaping mouths of the jutting 'makaras' at the corners, which mark the ends of these friezes on the four sides, are little sculptures of vigorous warriors in action.

The quadrature of the 'vimāna' from its 'adiṣṭhāna' to the top-most 'tala' of the pyramidal superstructure, is broken on each side by a number of relieved bays alternating with recesses. The surface of the recesses corresponds to the wall proper of the shrine chamber while the bays, which stand out, represent a series of lesser shrines incorporated into the main structure. There are five such bays with four alternating

1. The 'kaṇṭha' and 'kapota' have been suppressed in the Tanjore 'vimāna' in order to give greater prominence to the 'vyālavari' or 'varimāna'.

recesses on each side of the 'vimāna'[1] while in front there is one such bay on either side between the corner bay and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' wall.

Running all round the base of the wall and over the 'vyāla' frieze is a dadoed 'vari' which contains one of the most interesting features in this temple. The short pilaster strips and the recesses between them are panelled out in series depicting scenes from the

1. The derivation of this plan in this 'vimāna', as in the two Brihadīśvaras (as also in the Kampaharesvara, as we shall see later) can be arrived at by imagining a close approximation with the central 'vimāna' of an encircling series of (in this case fifteen) sub-shrines by the reduction and total disappearance of the ambulatory space in between. While the inner group of surrounding sub-shrines thus get incorporated with and later merge into the walls of the central 'vimāna', they still face, as in the original, the outer ring of sub-shrines ('parivārālaya') or cloister ('tiru-c-cuṟṟālai' or 'suṟṟālai') skirting the inside of the outer enclosing wall ('tiru-madil') which surrounds the larger outer ambulatory or court ('tiru-c-cuṟṟu-naḍai'). This original condition where the inner row stands apart from the main shrine, as do the outer rows, obtains in the plans of the Javanese temples, which are very elaborate in this respect. Nearer home (as we have briefly said elsewhere—in an illustrated lecture on the "South Indian Temple Unit" before the Archaeological Society of South India in November 1946—abstract published ; and as Dr. Stella Kramrisch has very ably, and elaborately expounded in quite an independent approch to the subject in her article "Superstructure of the Hindu Temple", J. I. S. O. A. Vol. XII, 1944 and in her 'Hindu Temple' 1946) we have the example of the Kailāsanātha at Ellora where there are five detached sub-shrines, three on the sides and two at the hind corners standing on the same plinth with a circumambulatory between them and the main shrine. The next step is the reduction of this ambulatory seen in the plans of the Panamalai 'vimāna' with three subshrines on its three sides and the Aivarkovil, Koḍumbāḷūr with four sub-shrines on the four corners of the 'vimāna', both of the Pallava period. The sub-shrines though attached to the main shrine in both cases still stand out as distinct structures. What appears to be a fusion of the plans of these two is to be seen in the Kailāsanātha in Kāñchi, with seven sub-shrines on the sides as well as the corners and here the fusion has advanced further.

This system of incorporation is seen in almost all the major 'vimānas' from the Pallava down to modern times. In the case of the Tanjore Brihadīśvara it must be noted, however, that the central bay on each side functioned originally as a doorway leading into the inner and narrow circumambulatory between the double walls of the 'garbhagṛha' and where we have the paintings over the walls facing the ambulatory and sculptures placed in niches projecting from the centres of each side of the inner wall opposite the door-way. Thus this 'sāndhāra vimāna' had four door-openings on its four sides. While the one in front was the main entrance to the sanctum, those on the three sides served not only to expose to view the large sculptures on the Koṣṭhas of the inner wall but also gave independent access to the painted gallery in the passage, at the same time lighting it, till they were blocked up in times of the Nāyaks. That it was done during their times is seen from the paintings of the Nāyaks on the inside of these tympans closing the original doorways. Another important difference is that in the Tanjore 'vimāna' (as in the Kailāsanātha in Ellora) the vertical part of the 'vimāna' enclosing the cella is of two storeys. This scheme of double storeys in the cella part is repeated in all the coeval structures, the 'ardha and mahāmaṇḍapas', the cloister, the enclosing wall and the 'gopuras'. The Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram 'vimāna' resembles the Tanjore 'vimāna' in this respect. The earliest Coḷa temple which has such a double storeyed cella is the Koranganātha in Srīnivasanallur.

Periya-purāṇa[1]. The popularity of Śekkiḻār's composition of the 'Periya-purāṇa which narrates the lives of the 63 Śaiva saints and its influence on both the royal patron and the public is easily inferred from the detailed depiction in narrative sculpture by Rājarāja II in his Dārāśuram temple. The similarity of scenes relating to the life of Sundaramūrti in the mural painting in Tanjore and the sculpture here is very striking.

The central and extreme bays on each side have 'devakoṣṭhas'. Their niches enshrining sculptures of gods are flanked by semi-pilasters ('koṣṭha-stambha') with squared bases, ('pāda') rounded 'kāls' (shafts) and similar capital members, viz. the 'padmabhanda', 'kalaśa', 'tāḍi', 'kumbha', and 'padama', except the abacus or 'palagai' ('palakha') which is square again. These shorter pilasters at the openings of each of the niches of the central 'devakoṣṭhas' of the 'vimāna' and the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' carry a projecting 'kapota', a rectangular 'grīva' and wagontop ('śāla'-type) 'śikhara' which has 'kūḍu' arches in front and at the ends. These seem to be in essence replicas of 'āyatāśra' shrines. But in the case of the other niches in the 'devakoṣṭhas' of the extreme bays, the pilasters of the niche openings support a projecting roof-plate surmounted by 'kūḍu' arches with 'siṃhamukha' finials and relief sculptures in their central circles. The smaller bays between the central and end ones do not have any niches on them. The main pilasters or 'kuṭṭiyakkāls' ('kuḍya-stambhas') cantoning the corners of each of the bays and equal to the whole height of the wall are almost full pillars. Those on the central bay have squared 'pādas' (bases) and 16-sided shafts ('kāl') and capital members of similar section on top while those on the other bays as well as those of the bays on the walls of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' have square bases, octogonal shafts and capital members of the same type. The 'palagai' ('palakha') in all cases is thin and square.

1. See J. I. S. O. A. II, 1, pp. 30-31 (and plates). "Periya-purāṇa scenes in Dārāsuram temple", by P. V. J. Aiyar. For an account of all the sculptured scenes with labels in Tamil below see Annual report on Epigraphy, Madras for 1920, pp. 102—107, pls. I-VI ; also ibid. for 1908, paragraphs 66-67, pp. 80-81. It is interesting to note that while in 43 panels the labels are inscribed on the stone in nine others they are written on the stone with red (ochre ?) paint and left uncut. The painted and inscribed scripts are of the same period, and this is an indication of how the inscriptions were written with paint before being cut. The work appears to be left incomplete.

There are rudimentary 'nāgapaḍa' ornaments at the place where the shaft ('kāl') springs from the top of the squared base ('pāda'). The 'pāda', the 'kāl' ('daṇḍa') and the members of the capital in all cases are decorated by 'karukka' work (scrolls and foliage).

The tetragonal nature of the base ('pāda') and top member ('palagai') of the pilasters is a survival of the early Coḷa type which has in practically all instances entirely tetragonal pilasters. The evolution into polygonal sections and their greater frequency as Coḷa architecture advances are noticeable only in the case of the intervening members. The lower surface of the abacus which is an inverted, smooth doucine or ogee and called the 'padama' in the earlier Coḷa temples (including the two Bṛihadīśvaras) is here found to be a well-developed, inverted lotus with a whorl of expanding petals. It rightly represents the name 'idaḷ' (the Tamil name for petal) by which it comes to be called in Drāviḍa architecture from this time onwards. In the later styles the 'idaḷ' becomes many seriate consisting of two or more alternating whorls of petals. The corbels over the main pilasters too show an advance over those of the Brihadīśvaras where they are of the simple bevel and tenon type, the chamferring being on the extreme thirds of the width of the corbel leaving the middle third in the form of an angular and pendentive tenon in between. The corbels found on the 'vimāna' and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' in this temple are essentially of the same type but, while the central tenon remains the same, the chamfered parts on either side faintly assume the floral shape called the 'madalai' of the future 'puṣpabodigai'.[1]

1. The earlier of the Coḷa temples (9th-10th centuries A. D.) have a simple type square block corbel with a bevelled end and angular profile, a survival of the indigenous wooden archetype very well seen in the Vijayālayacoḷīśvaram and other small Karralis (Alpa-vimānas) in Pudukkoṭṭai and in the cave temples (not of Pallava origin) in the Pāṇḍya country and Pudukkoṭṭai. The Pallavas (7th-9th centuries A. D.) introduced their characteristic corbels which are curved in profile and with the 'taraṅga' (wave moulding) ornament and a median band ('paṭṭai'). The early Coḷas too adapted it in some of their temples (Mūvar Kovil for example) with this difference that while copying the 'taraṅga' and 'paṭṭai' they retained the angular profile in preference to the curved one and at the lower bend or angle introduced an innovation in the form of an involution, a 'trough' amidst the usual crests of the 'taraṅga'. In the succeeding phase (Tanjore) a synthesis of the two types occurs. The 'taraṅga' ornament usually fades away, sometimes represented only by vertical lines behind the end of the corbel, the 'paṭṭai' becomes more pronounced assuming the shape of a

In between the corbel and top of the abacus is a block, the 'vīrakaṇṭha'.

The recesses or chases between the bays are adorned by the 'kumbhapañjara' which are pilasters having a decorated 'pūrṇagaṭha' or 'kumbha' for their bases, and carrying on top over the abacus the superstructure of a 'pañjara'. This is an advance over the thicker decorative pilasters with 'kumbha' bases but not the typically 'pañjara' tops found in the earlier Coḷa temples (Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram). This becomes also a regular feature of this and succeeding epochs. The entablature over the corbels consists of a plain architrave of beams 'uttiram' or 'uttirappaḍai', supporting a frieze of 'bhūtas', the 'bhūtavari'. The 'bhūtas' or goblins in this frieze are a study in themselves exhibiting all postures of dance and attitudes of comedy. The frieze on each side ends in lions at the corners. The massive curved cornice on top, generally called 'kapota' as the similar members at the base are, is often termed 'koḍuṅgai' to distinguish it from them. Like its counterparts below it is decorated by a series of 'kūḍus' with 'siṃhamukha' finials at intervals and 'koḍikkarukku' ornament in between and at the corners. This 'koḍuṅgai' is the replica of the curved metal sheet (copper or brass) cornices of the wooden archetypes and imitates in their decoration the embossed work on their metallic originals. The top of the entablature is finished off by a 'vyāla' frieze again with 'makara' heads at the corners protruding beyond the intersections.

The superstructure rises in five storeys, or 'talas' as they are called with reference to their floors or 'māḍams' with reference to their storeys, of diminishing size, the two lowermost ones extending over and including

median pendentive tenon while both the flanks are bevelled off. The Dārāśuram corbel marks the next phase of embellishment, the bevels getting floriated in the form of the 'madalai'. The next stage marks the conversion of the angular pendentive into a campanulate lotus form with curved outline, the 'palastara' with a bud at the tip. In the Vijayanagar phase it gets prolonged and pronounced assuming a spout-like aspect ('nannandāl') with an expanded tip ('palastara') carrying a pendent bud ('pūmunai') and flanked by the two upward curved 'madalais'. Over the massive square pillars without bulbous capitals found in the 'maṇḍapas', however, the corbels from the later Coḷa times almost to the present day have the bevel and tenon, with vertical groves on either side.

the top of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa'.[1] The first 'tala' is a string of miniature shrines each complete from 'upāna' to 'stūpi' running on the edge of the roof-plate and interconnected by a low parapet. They cover the tops of both the 'garbha' ('uṇṇāḷi') and 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. The miniature shrines, or 'pañjaras' as they are generally called, correspond in position to the bays on the 'vimāna' wall below while the low parapet which is crowned by a cornice and is visible between the 'pañjaras' as connecting them with one another all round corresponds to the recesses of the 'vimāna' wall. As in all the Drāviḍa 'vimānas' this belt of 'pañjaras' encloses the inner square which is an upward extension of the cella and forms the real nucleus of each storey. This central cubical structure has its walls adorned with pilasters and is crowned by an architrave consisting of the 'kapota' exactly as on the walls of the main cella or 'garbha' of the 'vimāna' below.[2] In the first tala the 'pañjaras' over the corner bays of the shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' known as 'karṇakūḍus' in Tamil ('karṇa-kūṭa'), are each of the square or 'samacaturāśra' type carrying a square 'grīva' and a four-ribbed domical 'śikhara' with a 'stūpi' or 'kalaśa' on top. Those

1. This seems to be a feature of all the greater South Indian 'vimānas'. This extension of the lower storeys over the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' or presence of a common parapet over both shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is noticeable in the Vijayālayacoḷīśvaram, and the two Bṛihadīśvaras, a continuation of what we find in the so called rathas in Māmallapuram (e.g. Dharmarāja, Arjuna, Bhīma, Sahadeva and Gaṇeśa rathas) where the entire superstructure rises over both. This implies that the composite Vimāna consisted of both the cella and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' or 'antarāla', since both of them have a common superstructure. The term 'antarāla' signifies its purpose as merely an entrance passage. In the case of the other Coḷa temples the superstructure surmounts the 'garbhagṛha' alone, leaving the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' as a flat-topped structure in front. In such cases, the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' signifies an accessory vestibule connecting the shrine with the 'mahāmaṇḍapa'.

2. This is exactly similar to the condition we have described for the bays below. There is a narrow circumambulatory passage between the outer rampart of subshrines and the central cubicle of the superstructure in some of the earlier forms of Drāviḍa 'vimānas'. For example in the Dharmarāja ratha in Māmallapuram it is an open 'pradakṣina' on the three 'talas' while in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ the 'pradakṣina' is a closed passage in the lowermost storey as in the ground floor. Again in the Vijayālayacoḷīśvaram it is an open 'pradakṣina' on the first 'tala' while below in the cella there is a square covered ambulatory round a circular inner shrine. But in their upper 'talas', as it is the case with all other temples of the Pallavas and Coḷas, the 'pradakṣina' atrophies bringing the rampart of sub-shrines in close proximity with the central cubicle. Thus it is a repetition of the same plan in diminishing dimensions repeated at each level till the top is reached. The Sat-mahāl pāsāda of Ceylon (12th century) is an example of this Ziggurat type shorn of the surrounding miniature shrines.

standing over the central or 'devakoṣṭha' bays of the shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' are rectangular or 'āyatāśra' each with a similar rectangular 'grīva' over its architrave surmounted by the "wagon top" 'śikhara' carrying a row of 'stūpis' on top. On this account these 'pañjaras' are also called 'śālai' in Tamil ('śāla'). The "wagon-top" 'śikharas' have a large projecting gable arch (kūḍu) in front, and a similar one at each end. The 'pañjaras' over the intermediary bays coming between the 'karṇakūḍu' and 'śāla' on each wing of the sides, have each an arched roof, the arch crowned by a 'siṃhamukha' finial. They are the front views of the apsidal ended or 'gajapṛṣṭhākṛiti' shrine. The second 'tala', which is really the top of the central cube of the first 'tala' of lesser dimensions, repeats the same grouping of the 'pañjaras' as below but the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' part of it is simply a walled enclosure, the walls embellished by pilasters and corbels and provided with an overhanging 'kapota'. A row of 'nandīs' are placed along the edge on top. The third, fourth and fifth storeys are confined to the central shrine alone and repeat the same arrangement of 'pañjaras'. On the top of the fifth storey rests the circular drum or 'grīva', its diameter lesser than the square below, and the space left on the four corners is occupied by pairs of recumbent bulls or 'nandīs'. The dome or 'śikhara' is also circular with an outward bulge across its middle and slightly splayed out at the bottom. On the four cardinal sides of the 'grīva' are projecting niches on which are superposed the similarly projecting 'kūḍus' from the sides of the 'śikhara'. The 'stūpi', which was of metal, and was placed on the 'mahāpadma' and the 'paṭṭika' slab which finally closes the 'brahmarandhra', is now missing and only its central rod is 'in situ'. Much of the top portion is covered and obscured by stucco ; perhaps this was the part that was plated with golden tiles by Kulottuṅga III. The stone construction is clearly visible in the first four storeys only.[1]

Axially in front of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is a north south transept or (iḍaikaḷi) as in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷapuram, reached by flights

1. In Tamil such apsidal ended shrines such as the Sahadeva ratha in Māmallapuram are called 'tūṅgānai mādam' meaning a structure shaped like an elephant that sleeps while standing, i. e, is motionless. The structural temples in Ponāgadam, Vīrathāneśvara in Tiruttaṇi, Dharmeśvara in Maṇimaṅgalam, are 'gajapriṣṭhākriti' or 'hastipriṣṭhākriti' in shape.

of steps ('sopānas' or 'paḍikkaṭṭu') on either side. The Mahāmaṇḍapa in front of the transept is a closed structure and is continued into the 'agramaṇḍapa' which has a portico or 'mukhamaṇḍapa' on its south side. All these structures are likewise raised on a ground table or 'upapīṭha'. The sides of 'upapīṭha' and 'pīṭha' are decorated at intervals by a series of miniature shrines. The pilasters cantoning the corners of this base are of the early type, square throughout. The floor ('kuṛaḍu') of the portico is reached by a flight of steps ('sopāna') on east and west with a balustrade on their sides. Such 'maṇḍapas' are on that account also called 'sopānamaṇḍapas'. The 'sopānamaṇḍapa' is designed in the form of a wheeled chariot drawn by horses.[1] The wheels are sculptured on the sides of the 'upapīṭha', one on each and one in the west with a prancing steed in front of each. The balustrade portrays the trunk of an elephant above and a full elephant below and is placed behind the wheel on either side.

On the north of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is a shrine for Pārvatī facing the portico. The numerous pillars of this 'maṇḍapa' as also those of the portico have attached pilasters on their sides with 'yālis' (vyāla) and elephants as their bases. This is an instance of the early type of composite pillars or 'aṇīyoṭṭikkāl'. The corbels over these pillars inside as well as those on the pilasters on its outer walls show the gradual transition to the next stage of their evolution with the central tenon assuming a campanulate floral form—the 'palastara' and 'pūmunai', the precursor of the late elaborate 'puṣpabodigais' of the Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagar, Nayak and modern periods. The anticipation of the characteristic feature of the Pāṇḍya period in the 'maṇḍapa' of this temple is significant of the transition stage.

Built against the south wall of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' is the shrine for Śarabhamūrti, a peculiar iconographic conception of Śiva.[2] The Śarabha shrine is similarly raised on a double plinth ('upapīṭha' and 'pīṭha') and has a small pillared portico in front reached by a flight of steps on its east with 'śuruḷ-yāḷi' balustrades.

What is most striking is the series of 'pañjaras' of the three types,

1. As in Konarak, Tiruvārūr and Hampi.
2. 'Hindu Iconography', T. A. G. Rao, Vol. II, part 3, pp.171-174.

square ('karṇakūdu'), rectangular ('śāla') and apsidal ended (gajapṛiṣṭha), alternating with each other and set in a line, over the 'vyāla' frieze along the edges on three sides of the terrace over the 'mahamāṇdapa' and 'agramaṇḍapa' in continuation of the 'pañjaras' of the first 'tala' of the 'vimāna' and 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. The extension of the 'pañjaras' of the first 'tala' over the front 'maṇḍapas' also is strongly reminiscent of the Cāḷukyan temples. The only other instance of this is the Vijayālaya-coḷīśvaram, where the 'maṇḍapa' in front of the 'vṛitta' type shrine serves the purpose of 'antarāla' as well as 'mukhamaṇḍapa'. Curiously enough the portico in Airāvateśvara does not carry such 'pañjaras' on its terrace but a parapet having a row of 'nandīs' on top.

In front of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is a small 'nandī' shrine and a 'balipīṭha' showing early characteristics of the Tanjore type in their square pilasters and bevel and tenon corbels. While these appear to be remnants of an earlier, smaller temple on the spot, their flights of steps and their balustrade have been attached later and show carvings and motifs similar to the other structures.

In the court to the north of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is the shrine of Caṇḍeśvara, the seneschal of Śiva. This seems to have been built simultaneously with the main 'vimāna'. In its plan and execution it conforms to the features of the Bṛihadīśvaras in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷapuram, for instance the early features shown by its corbels which have the bevel and tenon of the Tanjore type, while some even show the vanishing stages of the 'taraṅga' ornament. It looks as if this lesser shrine was in the hands of minor 'sthapatis' who during its renovation had to be conservative and utilise the old material or faithfully confine themselves to accepted canons in copying the old while the main 'vimāna' was replanned and executed by greater Śilpācāryas who could very well introduce innovations and create new modes as seen in the shape of the corbels developing the floriated 'madalai' in their bevelled part and the transformation of the tenon into the 'palastara' and rudimentary 'pūmunai' and in many other architectural motifs and components.

Round the court is a peristylar cloister ('tiruccuṟṟālai') which is of the same period and in which about six sub-shrines or 'parivārālayas' are now traceable in the length of the pillared hall.

Separated from the axial group and in front of it to its north is another shrine of Pārvatī, which is locally called the Daivanāyakī shrine. It is of the same style as the main 'vimāna' in essential features. The 'upa-pīṭha' which resembles the Airāvateśvara is buried in the flooring of the court. The shrine is square with 'ardhamaṇḍapa' and 'mahāmaṇḍapa' on the same plinth of narrower width in front. The shrine has three bays on the centres of its three sides. While the 'pīṭhas' of these bays and 'mahāmaṇḍapa' have a plain and prominent dado and an octagonal 'kumuda', the 'pīṭha' of the chases of the shrine and that of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' have a stepped up 'upāna' with a 'padmadala jagatī' and a rounded torus or 'kumuda'. The main pilasters on the walls have rampant lion bases and polygonal shafts. The capital members resemble those of the main temple, all polygonal except the square 'palagai'. The pilasters flanking 'devakoṣṭhas' are tetragonal without lion bases. The superstructure rises in two 'talas' over shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' with 'pañjaras' as usual, but the 'grīva' is rectangular and the 'śikhara' is of the 'śāla' type, the front 'kūḍu' projected in front and superposed on the 'talas' over the 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. Such a type of superstructure is rarely met with in earlier Coḷa shrines except in a few 'āyatāśra vimānas' though common in later times. This Devī shrine or 'tirukkāmakottam'[1] as it is called, seems to be a slightly later addition, perhaps of the time of Kulottuṅga III. The 'devakoṣṭhas' contain 'devī' images.

Nothing important remains of the outer courts, except one of the 'gopuras', the inner one in front of the temple and a tank outside the first court (250 ft. wide). The outer 'gopura' is in ruins. One of these two 'gopuras', very likely the outer one, is called in one of the inscriptions, on a loose stone slab among the ruins, Īgai-Mūvendiraiyan tiru-gopuram. The most interesting are the inscriptions

1. The 'devī' shrines or 'tirukkāmakoṭṭam' were later additions to all the early Pallava and Coḷa temples. Such additions to already existing temples begin from about the 11th century A. D. and in the temples of this time onwards we have many examples of contemporary construction of the 'kāmakoṭṭam'. The great temple in Tanjore had its 'Amman' or 'devī' shrine added in the 13th century A. D. See "Tirukkāmakoṭṭam (in the South Indian Temples)", contributed to the 13th session of the All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur (1946).

on the niches below the outer gopura, which are mostly empty at present, and which must have contained images of gods whose names the inscriptions·denote.[1] The inner gopura is 'āyatāśra' in plan with a squat rectangular superstructure of two 'talas' and a 'śāla' type 'śikhara' over the 'grīva'.

Thus stylistically this temple complex marks in its mixed components all the stages of transition from the Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷapuram types to the great temples of the post-Coḷa epochs.

Though the context will not permit a detailed consideration of all the sculptures in these temples, mention may be made at least of a few. The sculptures are all in black stone, modelled with exquisite features and placed in the niches of the 'devakoṣṭhas' of the 'vimāna', 'ardha', 'mahā' and 'agramaṇḍapas', in the 'pañjaras' above and in the cloister all round. As usual in all the South Indian temples the central bays bearing the principal 'devakoṣṭhas' on the south, west and north walls of the 'vimāna' enshrine Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Liṅgodbhava and Brahmā in the order mentioned, while those on the south and north walls of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' are dedicated to Durgā and Gaṇeśa. The other niches contain forms of Śiva, as an ascetic, Bhairava Gajāri, Kirāta, Vīrabhadra and Ardhanārī besides sculptures of Devī viz. Mahiṣamardanī, Annapūrṇa, and others such as Āgastya and Kubera. The most interesting iconographically (next only to the Śarabha) is the Trimūrti Ardhanārī form which combines the triune headed Śiva, and Devī, the latter occupying the left half of the middle figure. This is a unique combination of two forms of Śiva, Trimūrti and Ardhanārī. The interesting sculptures in the Agramaṇḍapa are Sarasvatī, Nandikeśvara standing in 'añjali' and bearing all the attributes of Śiva, viz. 'paraśu', and 'mṛga' and with a human head (this is the 'sarūpya' form), Kaṇṇappa (the Śaiva devotee), Lakṣmī and Subrahmaṇya with 5 faces and 6 arms, In the cloister are found sculptures of the 110 Śivācāryas with inscribed labels, a

1. The name of the gopura is given in No. 25 of 1908. The names of the deities in the niches mentioned in the inscriptions are 36 in number. (For list see Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, 1908, p. 81,' paragraph 68.) The script of the labels resembles that of the labels on the panels of the shrine inside.

sculpture of Kaṅkālamūrti and of women, probabably royal ladies, of beautiful form and elegant postures. The most noteworthy are the two portrait sculptures of Rājarāja II and his Devī, the founders of the temple. The Periyapurāṇam panels on the 'varī' of the 'vimāna' have already been noticed before. In addition to forming an interesting subject for the study of architecture this temple offers a fine gallery of sculptures which attract attention both from the artistic and iconographic points of view.

2. THE KAMPAHARESVARA

The Kampahareśvara, called Tribhuvanavīrīśvaram in its inscriptions was built by Kulottuṅga Coḷa III, Tribhuvanavīra (1178-1223 A. D.), the last of the great Coḷa kings. Though the temple is now generally called Kampahareśvara the place still retains the name of Tribhuvanam, short for its old name of Tribhuvanavīrapuram.[1]

The entire structure rests on a decorated plinth or 'upapīṭha' as in Dārāśuram and axially consists of the 'śrīvimāna', the 'ardhamaṇḍapa', the 'iḍangaḷi' (transept), the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' and the 'agramaṇḍapa' on a west to east line, the 'agramaṇḍapa' having its entrance porch on the south.

The lowermost exposed member of the 'upapīṭha' is a 'padmadala' base corresponding to an expanding lotus of which the temple forms the 'kośa'.[2] Over this runs a 'vyālavari' and interposed between this and the

1. A. R. E. 190, 191 and 192 of 1907 and the Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭṭai State, Nos. 163 and 166. The temple built by Kulottuṅga III was consecrated by his guru, Someśvara or Īśvara Śiva, the author of 'Siddhānta Ratnākara'. His three Sanskrit inscriptions from the Tribhuvanam temple (Nos. 190, 191, 192 cf 1907), one on the shrine wall and the two others on the 'gopuram', mention Kulottuṅga's various building activities and say that this king built this "Tribhuvanavīreśvara, the brilliant tall and excellent 'vimāna' of which interrupts the Sun (in his course)". The two Tamil 'praśastis' from Pudukkoṭṭai (Nos. 163, 166) say that he "built the Tribhuvanavīraiśvaram for the 'Iṟaivar' (Lord Śiva), who was adored by 'Ari' (Viṣṇu) and 'Piramar' (Brahmâ), so that the whole world may worship and praise Him". For a list of the other buildings which he erected or repaired see paragraphs 66-65, pp. 80-81, "Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1928" and "Inscriptions in the Pudukkoṭṭai State", Translated into English by K. R. Srinivasan, Part II. (1926) pp. 137, 143, 144, 148 and 152.

2. The stepped up 'upāna', the lowermost course of the 'jagatī', seems to be buried below the flag stones of the courtyard all round.

'kapota' or sur-base is a vertical block plinth or dado, the surface of which is panelled out by a series of pilaster strips. While the pilaster strips are adorned by scroll work (koḍikkarukku) the panels in between them in the shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' parts, contain dancing figures depicting different poses of 'Bhārata nāṭya' with drummers and other musicians of the 'mela' accompaniment and riders on 'vyālas', lions and elephants as elsewhere. The panels of this dado below the transept and front 'maṇḍapas' depict mostly elephants, 'vyālas' and other animals and human figures some riding on them. The 'kapota' or 'surbase' over this is decorated as usual with a series of 'kūḍus' or gable arches with 'siṃhamukha' finials and the intervening spaces as well as the corners have scroll ornamentation of creepers with foliage and flowers. The 'upapīṭha' of the shrine has two sunken recesses on either side of the central bays of each face, which accommodate bas-relief miniatures of shrines. There are two such on either side of the balustrade of the steps leading up to the transept.

The structure on top of this plinth occupies a smaller area, leaving a walk or 'āḷoḍi' all round. The 'vimāna' is essentially 'samacaturāśra'. The 'adiṣṭhāna' has a stepped up 'upāna' of three plain tiers, over which rests the cyma base, or 'padmapīṭha'. A short, but sharp, intervening neck or constriction marks off the next tier or 'paḍai', the 'kumudappaḍai' which is a rounded moulding embellished by flutings or vertical grooves. Above and below this 'kumuda' are linear series of small petals. The vertical face of the 'kaṇṭha' over this is again divided into a series of panels by means of pilaster strips placed at intervals. These panels show figures of 'bhūtas' and 'gaṇas' in different postures of dance and merriment. The top of the 'adiṣṭhāna' is capped by a 'kapota', resembling the one below and carrying a frieze of 'vyālas' which project beyond the corners in the form of 'makara' heads.

T he square sides of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' as well as the walls of the shrine are drawn out into five bays with four alternating recesses on each side as in the Dārāśuram temple, the central bay on each side thrust out more prominently than the others. The central and corner bays accommodate 'devakoṣṭhas'. The 'devakoṣṭha' on the central bay on the south is dedicated to Daksiṇāmūrti, that on the west enshrines a Liṅgodbhava

and the original sculpture of Brahmā on the north has been replaced by a later and smaller sculpture of the same deity. The main pilasters cantoning the bays ('kuṭṭiyakkāls') have square bases, octagonal shafts with 'nāgapaḍams' at the scape and octagonal capital components on top. The doucine below the abacus or 'palagai', which still retains its large size and square form, is an octagonal inverted lotus with petals—the real 'idaḷ'. The square abacus as in Dārāsuram and other later Coḷa temples is thinner in contrast to the thick massive ones of the Pallava and early Coḷa temples including Tanjore. The corbel is an early type of 'puṣpa-bodika', the earlier angular central tenon completely transformed into an inverted and campanulate 'palastara' and the bevellings on either side developed into curved up and floriated 'madalais'. This marks a definite advance over the corbels of the Airāvateśvara. The shorter pilasters, 'koṣṭhasthambas', at the openings of the niches in the 'devakoṣṭhas' have similar bases and 'nāgapaḍams', but 16-sided shafts. Those on the central niches support a wagon-top or 'śālā' type 'śikhara' while the others have a projecting roof plank surmounted by a 'kūḍu' arch. The chases are adorned by 'kumbha pañjara' motifs in relief.

The beam over the corbels of the main pilasters supports numerous rafter ends and bent brackets or modillions, resting on small corbels, and purlins which seemingly hold the curved 'kapota' or 'koduṅgai', all imitating in stone the timbering below the curved metallic eaves board of the brick and timber prototype. The lower edge of the 'koḍuṅgai' or cornice is decorated by a line of circular medallions, while the face has larger 'kūḍu' arches spaced out between 'yāli' figures and 'karukku' at the corners.

The central projecting bays on the north and south walls of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' also accommodate 'devakoṣṭhas', similar to those on the walls of the shrines. These enshrine Durgā on the north and Gaṇeśa on the south as usual. The recesses on either side of these central bays are pierced by rectangular windows, 'palakaṇi' or 'śālakam' (jālaka), framed by semi-pilasters on the sides and a 'toraṇa' arch above. The bays on the front ends of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' have shallow niches with 'toraṇa' arches on top and the recesses at the extreme front have each 'kumbha-pañjara' reliefs. The 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is of lesser width

than the shrine, as in Dārāśuram thereby exposing to view parts of the front wall of the shrine proper on either side which contain 'devakoṣṭhas'. In these two 'devakoṣṭhas' are to be seen warrior figures (Śiva gaṇas) holding sword and shield.

The superstructure rises in the form of a tapering pyramid consisting of six 'talas' or 'mādams' of gradually diminishing size. The two lowermost ones extend over the top of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' as we have noticed in the Airāvateśvara and the Bṛihadīśvaras. Similarly the central 'pañjaras' in the girdle round each 'tala' of the shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' are 'āyatāśra' or 'śālā' type, the corner ones or 'karṇakūḍus are 'samacaturāśra' and the intermediary ones may be described as the front views of the 'gajapṛiṣṭhākṛiti' type. A very striking feature is the presence of two stout circular pilasters placed one on either side of the 'koṣṭha' in the central 'pañjara' of the first storey over the shrine. These pilasters carry a 'kūḍu' [1] on top. This is a motif coming down from the Pallava times and is to be seen in a few of the early Coḷa temples as well.[2] The recesses, between these projecting 'pañjaras' have miniature shrines in relief.

The 'grīvā' placed on the topmost square 'tala', is circular or drum-shaped carrying a domical 'śikhara'. The upper storeys of this 'vīmāna' including the 'grīvā' and 'śikhara' are apparently of brick and mortar while the rest of the entire construction is of cut stone.

The 'idaikaḷi' in front of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' has flights of steps at its north and south ends guarded by 'śurul-yāli' balustrades.

The main pilasters on the walls of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' and 'agramaṇḍapa' have square bases with 'nāgapaḍam' motifs at the four top corners from amidst which spring the octagonal shafts terminating

1. See Gaṇeśa-ratha in Māmallapuram. The end face of the 'sālā' type 'śikhara' bears such a pilaster.

2. Such early Coḷa temples are the Tiru-Anantesvarattu-Āḷvār temple in Uḍaiyārguḍi, South Arcot District built before 940 A. D., the Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbālūr, Pudukkoṭṭai, built between 956 and 973 A. D. and the Naltuṇai Īśvara in Puñjai, Tanjore District, built about 960 A. D.

in capitals, the members[1] of which are of similar octagonal section. The 'idaḷ' is well formed, the 'palagai' or abacus continues to be square and the corbels are of the early 'puṣpa-bodika' type as found elsewhere. The niches on the projections of the surface of the walls have shorter pilasters with the same square bases and 'nāgapadams' at the scape, but sixteen-sided shafts and capitals, square abacus and, what is more important, corbels of the earlier type with a plain median tenon and the two lateral bevels showing faintly the 'taraṅga' ornament. This will be one more instance to show that these two temples besides marking the end of the Coḷa phase show transition features in their architectural motifs leading on to the next series of the Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar phases. The projecting cornices over these niches on the 'mahā' and 'agramaṇḍapa' wall are surmounted by 'pañjara' reliefs with large 'kūḍus' enclosing miniature models of shrines. The niches on the recessed parts of the walls have short pilasters with square bases and 'nāgapaḍams' and circular 'kāls' and capitals. They bear no corbels and the projecting shelves above them carry 'toraṇa' arches.

The 'upapīṭha' and 'adhiṣṭhāna' of these two 'maṇḍapas' have on their sides a regularly disposed series of bas-relief miniature shrines. The portico on the south of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is of the same type as in the Airāvateśvara, but in place of the lion and elephant based pillars we have simple ornamental pillars. The portico itself is fashioned as a many-wheeled chariot with two elephants in front of the balustrade of the 'sopāna' on the east. The projecting axles are supported by rampant lions ; the detachable wheels are missing. On the west of the projecting portico is a Somāskanda shrine[2] of plainer architecture, of the earlier period ; for instance its pilasters are square throughout, the 'idaḷ' is petalled and the corbels have bevel and tenon.

In the shrine that corresponds to the Śarabha shrine of the Airāvateśvara on the south wall of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' there is a stucco figure of a chief

1. 'Padmabhanda', 'kalaśa', 'tāḍi', 'kumbha' and 'idaḷ'.

2. Such shrines dedicated to Somāskanda, where the 'utsavabheras' of Somāskanda in bronze are also usually kept, are popularly called Tyāgarāja shrines after the famous one in Tiruvārūr. These become common in the Tanjore district and surrounding areas from about this time.

The 'Tirukkāmakoṭṭam' or Devī shrine[1] in front on the north has its 'upapīṭha' practically buried in the flooring. The 'adhiṣṭhāna' has a 'padmadala' base and a polygonal 'kumuda' moulding and the 'kaṇṭha' is plain. The pilasters on its walls have square bases with 'nāgapaḍams', the 'kāl' and capital members up to the 'idaḷ vari' are octagonal while the 'palagai' remains square and the corbel is of the early 'puṣpapodika' variety. In the recesses of the walls are to be found decorative pilasters of the type seen in Tanjore which differ from the 'kumbha-pañjaras' in not having a typical 'pañjara' top.

The Caṇḍéśvara shrine to the north of the 'vimāna', shows certain advanced characters, unlike its counterpart in the Airāvateśvara which shows some features earlier than those of the 'vimāna'. The 'adhiṣṭhāna' has the 'padmadala' base and a semicircularly moulded 'kumuda'. The pilasters have square bases, octagonal shafts and capital members, including the abacus, and the corbels are primitive 'puṣpabodikas'. The characteristic square nature of the abacus beginning from the Pallava period and persisting throughout the following Coḷa period becomes lost in the succeeding epochs when the abacus also conforms in section and shape to the other members of the capital and shaft below. Here, in a temple where in the major structures the abacus remains square, irrespective of the shapes of the parts below it, we find such a variation in this accessory shrine.[2] This temple also is a veritable sculpture gallery of varied iconography.

The 'gopuras' in front of the enclosing wall or 'tirumadil' are still extant. While the inner one is ruined on top the outer or main 'gopura'

1. Called popularly 'Ammankovil' or 'Amman' (Devī or mother's) shrine in Tamil.

2. Among the vast array of Coḷa temples we find here and there that the abacus of the pilasters, especially the shorter ones flanking niches, are not square but take the shape of the capital members below. These are rather exceptional. But the general form throughout seems to be a square abacus, very thick and massive in Pallava and early Coḷa times and thinner in later Coḷa times. For sometime extending up to the early Coḷa period the doucine below the square 'palagai' which is called the 'padma' (and which did not yet become polypetalous to deserve the later name of 'idaḷ') also had the square shape of the abacus even though the shaft and capital components were not square in section. Such square pilasters with square 'palagais' are seen to persist till late times in the minor parts of the main structure, on the super structures of the 'vimāna' and in the 'upapīṭha' and 'adhiṣṭhāna'. They are seen for instance in the cantoning pilasters of the pedestal of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' in Dārāśuram.

is complete. There is another ruined 'gopura' on the west behind the temple. They are all squat, rectangular based structures much like the Tanjore 'gopura' and nothing compared in size to the great pylons of the Pāṇḍyas of the second empire who came to wield almost absolute power after Kulottuṅga III. Still in the Kampahareśvara, as in the Airāvateśvara, the Bṛihadīśvaras and the earlier Cōḷa temples, the 'vimāna' was the dominant structure of the composition of the temple unit and the 'gopuras' were subordinate in size and importance. The gradation of magnitude and importance was centripetal. The Kampahareśvara is perhaps one of the few last of this series. For even in the time of Kulottuṅga III. except in this great and complete temple of his, the emphasis shifted from the 'vimāna' to the 'gopura' and he constructed a few also of that type thereby inaugurating the centrifugal tendency in the gradation of magnitude. The Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar kings, who followed, continued this practice of building great 'gopuras' for existing temples, since they found that this was a direction in which they could add to the grandeur and glory of the temples already built by the Pallava and Cōḷas of old in the various places of sanctity without renovating them totally except in cases where necessary. The 'gopura' thus came to assume such an importance that in Vijayanagar times even in the case of entirely new constructions of temple units the 'gopuras' predominated in size over the 'vimāna'. Thus came into being such renowned but later temple units as Tiruvārūr, Madura and Śrīraṅgam where there is observable a descending gradation from the outermost 'gopura' of the many-walled temple unit to the central 'vimāna'.

Considered from all points of view we have in these two Cōḷa temples the culminating phase of Cōḷa architecture and sculpture in the south and these two examples therefore occupy a unique place in the series of South Indian temples. While in their essential architectural composition and disposition in plan they may be said to have much in common with the two large earlier temples in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Cōḷapūram, and all the four look much alike when seen from a distance, yet in many of their architectural components can be noticed, on a closer view, a transformation in shapes which herald the development of the characteristic styles of the succeeding epoch of temple architecture of the

Drāviḍa order. These transitory features are noticeable in the pilasters where, while their shafts and capital members undergo changes in shape, the base and abacus are conservative, the 'padma' develops into the 'idaḷ', the rudimentary 'nāgapaḍams' make their appearance and the corbel tends to change into 'puṣpabodikai'. The presence of the early type 'kumbha-pañjaras' in place of the decorative pilasters of the Tanjore type in the recesses of the walls is an additional feature of interest. It must be remembered here that the advent of this Coḷa-Cāḷukya line of kings brought about closer relations between the south and the Cāḷukyan territories and therefore the possibilities of mutual influence and the evolution of new ideas, forms and motifs can not be overlooked. Side by the side the contact with the Hoysalas, who were growing into a contemporary power and had a large part to play in the politics resulting from the conflicts between the Coḷas and the resurgent Pāṇḍyas, their matrimonial alliances with both the houses, and the establishment of a Hoysala state right in the heart of the Coḷa country at Kaṇṇnanūr for a time is another possible source of contact and fresh ideas. But it must be said that in spite of these political and dynastic contacts the Drāviḍa style of architecture maintained its purity and continuity in its essential features ; whatever Cāḷukya or Hoysala influences there might have been perhaps helped to a slight extent in shaping modified forms out of existing originals.

We see in the Dārāśuram temple 'maṇḍapa' perhaps for the first time in South India, the conception of a wheeled chariot. The re-introduction of lion bases in the pillars, which we had before in the later Pallava period (650-800 A. D.), after a lapse of a few centuries, is a noteworthy case of reversion to older forms. In Dārāśuram we have pillars in the 'maṇḍapa' with both lions and elephants in relief at the bases, while the Daivanāyakī shrine has typical lion pillars. We see them in the opening of the pyramidal parts of 'gopuras' in temples of this and later periods, e. g. in Tiruvārūr, Jambukeśvaram, Śrīraṅgam, etc. The ornate pillars inside the 'maṇḍapas' and cloisters of the temples are the forerunners of the 'aniyottikkāls' of later temples.

After such a detailed consideration of these two great Coḷa temples we have to slightly modify the scheme of dates and names

of periods in the Drāviḍa order of temples enunciated in outline by the late Prof. J. Dubreuil and adopted generally by scholars after him. According to him the Coḷa style ends with 1100 A. D. and what follows will be the Pāṇḍya style, 1100-1350 A. D. Historically the Coḷa line, revitalised by the infusion of Cāḷukyan blood on the accession of Kulottuṅga I, continued till the close of the reign of the last king Rājendra III (1246-1279 A. D.) though as an imperial power the Coḷas lost their place towards the closing years of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A. D.). Till the beginning of the second quarter of the 13th century A. D., therefore, they were a great power in the south and continued their building activities and made the greatest contribution to the arts of the country.

The two temples amply prove this. Obviously the Coḷa period of temple architecture will therefore take us to the close of the 12th century, if not to the first quarter of the 13th. This Coḷa period may be said to be divided into two phases, the Imperial Coḷa phase or early Coḷa phase from Vijayālaya to Kulottuṅga I (850-1070 A. D.) and the Coḷa-Cāḷukya or later Coḷa phase from Kulottuṅga I to Kulottuṅga III (1070-1216 A. D.). The second Pāṇḍya Empire may be said to begin actually at the close of the reign of Kulottuṅga III (1216 A. D.) which also marks the accession to power of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya after his conquest of the Coḷa country which practically terminated the period of the power and authority of the Coḷas. Thus only those temples and constructions dating after 1216, when the Pāṇḍyas were really in a position to contribute to the art and architecture of the south can be precisely attributed to the Pāṇḍyas. Accordingly the Pāṇḍya style will date from about 1205 to about 1400 which includes the period of the ephemeral Sultanate of Madura, its extinction and the assumption of imperial titles by Hari Hara II in 1376 A. D. marking the beginning of Vijayanagar rule in the South.

ANCIENT INDIAN IVORIES FROM BEGRĀM AFGHANISTAN

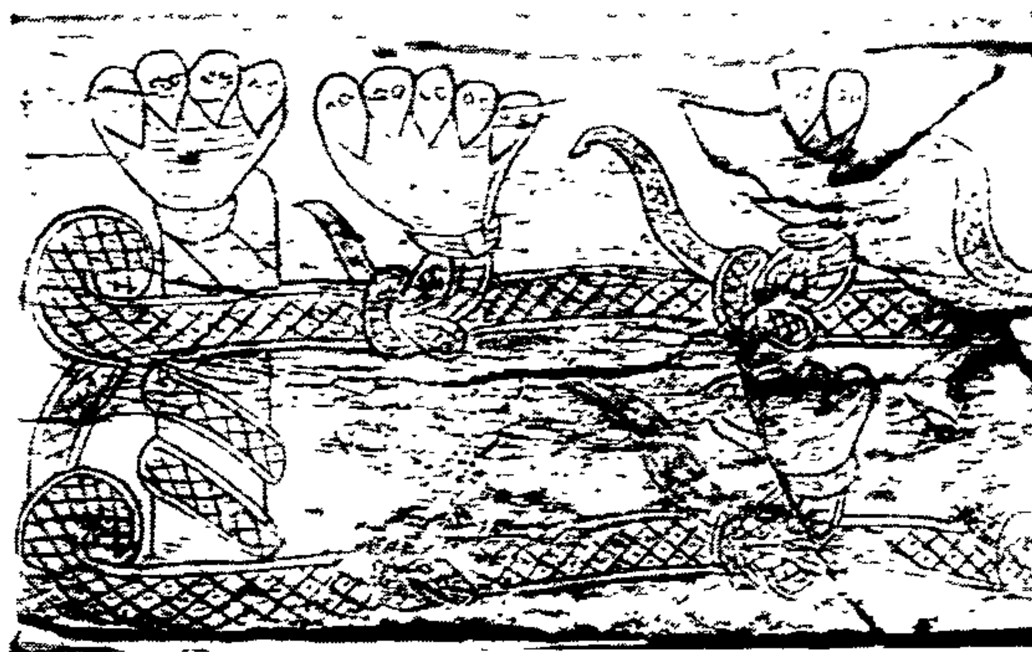
by JEANNINE AUBOYER

Joseph and Ria Hackin have published the results of their 'Recherches archêologiques a Begrām' in vol. 9 of the 'Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan' which appeared in Paris in 1939. These archaeological researches were carried out in a part of present-day Afghanistan which European travellers had already visited in the early days of the 19th century. It was Joseph Hackin's privilege, nevertheless, to wrest its secrets from the soil of Begrām, identified as being the Kapiśī of Hiuan-Tsang, the ancient summer residence of the kings of the Kuṣāṇas.

After their first brilliant excavations of 1937, J. and R. Hackin went on a second expedition in 1939/40 accompanied by Jean Carl. Unfortunately they did not have time to publish their results, as they found a glorious death on the 24th February 1941, answering the call of Free France.

The Musée Guimet took upon itself to publish the results of the last excavations of him who had been its Curator from 1923 to 1941. A new issue (vol. 11) of the 'Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan' containing posthumous notes of J. Hackin and contributions by his collaborators is now in preparation ; this volume will be published simultaneously with a similar work produced by the Warburg Institute of London, to which J. Hackin had entrusted his notes concerning the Hellenistic objects which he had found at Begrām.

It is no doubt unnecessary to stress the interest of these first excavations in Begrām ; we know that they had vindicated the importance of the capital of ancient Kapiśī in regard to Eurasiatic trade in the time of the Kuṣāṇas. It will be remembered that the excavators had found in one and the same chamber of No. 2 site, Syrian or Alexandrian glassware, bronzes of Hellenistic influence, and ivories of undisputable Indian origin. During



B



A



C




D

the 1939/40 spell, more bronzes, Hellenistic plaster and fragments of Chinese lacquers were added to this collection ; and especially a new lot of ivories which has considerably increased the series previously gathered.[1]

These ivories are most interesting. On the one hand they fill a blank since, apart from textual information, we had very little knowledge concerning sculpture on ivory in India ; on the other, they supply valuable data as regards their use. In 1939/40 a stool (Chamber No. 13, lot No. 34) was added to the caskets found in 1937 ; the excavators were able to reconstitute it by taking exact measurements of its imprint, in spite of the fact that the wooden frame had entirely crumbled away ; the shape of its back was that which the reliefs of Amarāvatī and elsewhere have familiarised us with ; that is to say, it is topped by an arched cross-bar, slightly concave and projecting, attached to the uprights by arched supports carved on both sides. The ivory and bone plaques are secured on the framework by means of brass nails ; large sheets of mica are inserted between the wood and the ivory. The whole structure is held together by means of inch-long iron nails, and reinforced at the extremities by long brass clamps. This back, 1 foot 1 inch long, is decorated on both sides ; plaques representing figures, animals, plants, geometrical designs, some of them set-off in red and black, alternate with balustrades of the Buddhistic 'vedikā' type.

On closer examination it appears that these Begrām ivories date back from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. ; they seem to have been together with the other Hellenistic and Chinese objects found on this site, part of a kind of "collection", the most astonishing yet discovered in our time. It is quite likely that they belonged to some rich inhabitant of Kapiśī in the days of Kuṣāṇa domination, circa. 241 A. D., at the time when the approach of the Iranian armies of Shāhpur caused panic throughout the country-side. The proprietor must, thereupon, have stored all those

1. The inscriptions on the pillar of the Sanchi South Toraṇa testifies to the existence of ivory-sculptors gilds (daṁtakāra) in India (cf. Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, 'The Monuments of Sanchi', Bhopal 1947, I, page 297). On the other hand from various other sources, ivory was utilised from an early date for the decoration of doors, statues, and toraṇas (Mṛcchakatika, IV, 28-30) furniture (Mahāvamśa, XXVII 32 sq., trans. Geiger and Bode, p. 184 ; 'Mānasāra' XI IV, 75-77, Trans. Acharya, Vol. V. p. 455 ; Majumdar, 'Hearth and Home' ; 'Indian Culture', Vol. III, Jan. 1937, p. 440). Also cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon', Brussels, 1924, p.p. 141.

movable goods which were too delicate or too cumbersome for him to take away, in a chamber which was so well walled up that it had, so far, escaped the attentions of the invaders and plunderers.

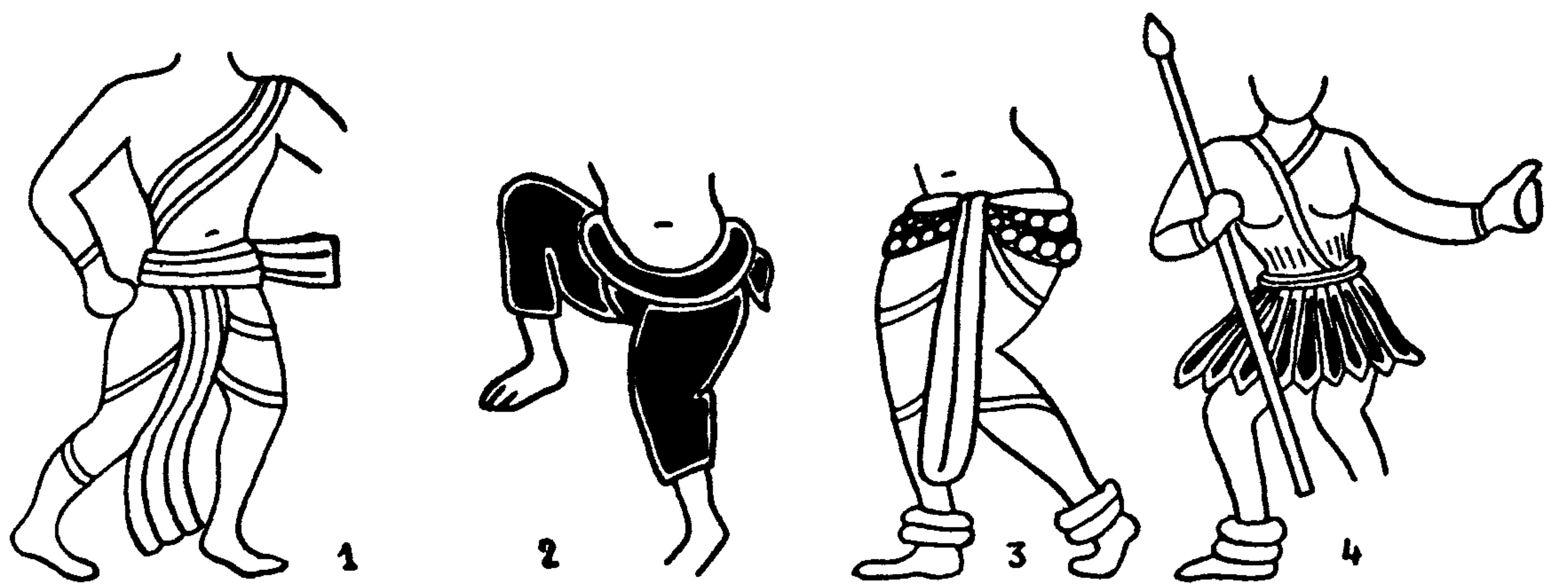
The study of Indian ivories can now be carried out upon 600 specimens, thanks to the two expeditions of J. Hackin. Leaving Mr. Ph. Stern and Mrs. Monod-Brühl, respectively Curator and Assistant of the Musée Guimet, to study their style and connections,[1] we will endeavour to extract the various information which these ivories can disclose upon the various aspects of Indian life[2].

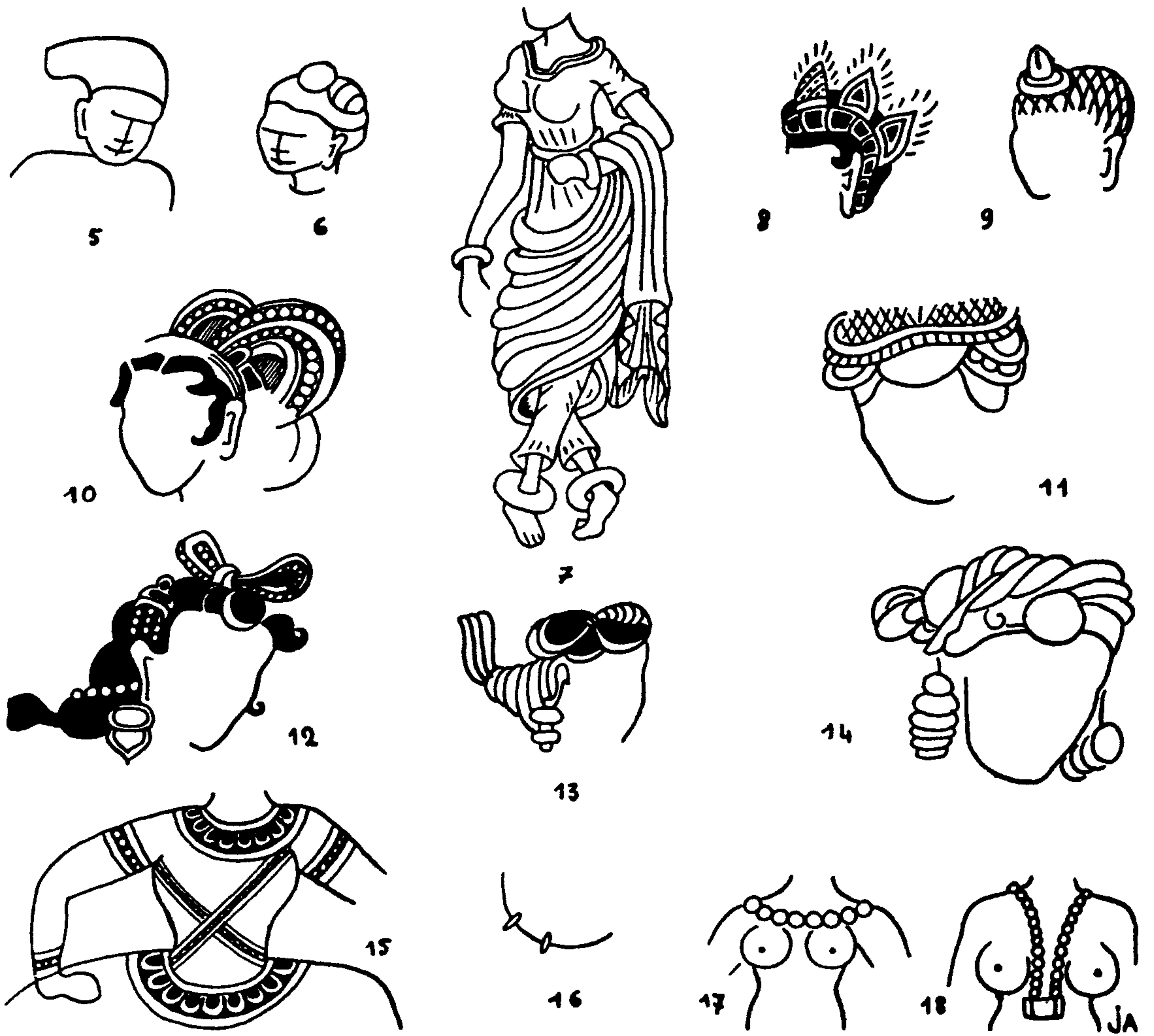
The most striking fact about this collection is the nearly constant absence of male figures.[3] One or two Rājās, a *syce*, few horsemen, hunters, servants and some mythical characters are all that are to be found. It is quite possible that this absence of male figures was deliberate and that it corresponds to the well-known fact that no man—except the

1. The studies will appear in Vol. XI of the 'Mémoires de la Délègation Archéologique Francaise on Afghanistan'. Without wishing to anticipate, one can say that it seems evident that these ivories belong to the same period, and that the differences between them which may be found are due more to differences of technique and style then to a notable chronological difference. Except a small lot (numbered 'A' to 'H') of a very special style, the ivories can be grouped in various categories according to their extremely varied techniques, treatment and skill of execution. It would seem that they were made in a number of workshops and by workmen of varied temperaments. But we must underline that the typical details are to be found indifferently in all the categories, which proves their contemporaneousness. On the other hand as regards the assembling of plaques on the caskets and stools, the unity of each series has not been taken into account and some plaques have been found which manifestly belong to a same narrative and stylistic series and were employed for the ornamentation of different objects; inversely, various styles are found on a same object.

2. I cannot sufficiently stress to what degree this study, which would appear under a more complete form in Vol. XI of the "Mémoires de la D. A. F. A.," owes to the remarkable work of Mr. Sivaramamurti, "Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum", which appeared in 1942 in the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Mr. Sivaramamurti has therein made a study which is very similar to that which I had myself undertaken at that time, and of which I had given the first results at the Ecole du Louvre during the session 1941/42, while I was assuming the functions of Deputy Professor. This "archaeological encounter", unknown to its authors uptill now, proves that Indian researches have come to a stage where one can—and must—pursue the inventory of the material culture of ancient India whilst supporting the plastic figurations by literary proofs.

3. It is no doubt useful to specify that, owing to the agreement between the D. A. F. A. and the Afghan Government, all exceptional pieces found in the excavations are given to the Kabul Museum and that the remainder is divided between that Museum and the Musée Guimet in Paris (East Asiatic Art section of the French National Museums). The documentation upon which we have based our work includes the whole of the discoveries during both periods.


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master and the aged guardian (kañcukī) of the gynaeceum—could have access to the private apartments reserved to women. Was not this interdiction applicable to the decorations of these apartments ?[1] If so, one might conclude that these ivory plaques found in Begrām belonged to these private quarters.

Nothing can be found in the examination of these plaques which can disprove this hypothesis : In most cases the setting of the scenes themselves, the figures, and even the animals and the vegetation, are all in accordance with what is to be found in the Sanskrit and Pāli texts describing the women's quarters (Pl. IV, fig. d),[2] What do these texts teach us ? Having passed the gates of the town guarded by soldiers-in-arms and followed the main thoroughfare towards its centre,[3] one reaches the palace and the aristocratic dwellings. The royal, princely, or noble abode, a closed world within a closed city, has the appearance of a Roman villa with its many buildings and successive courts ; the last of these—the 8th according to the 'Mṛcchakaṭika IV, 28/30—is set aside for the Master of the house's (gṛhakāraka) private apartments (kūṭāgāra). which include the gynaeceum (suddhānta, antaḥpura patīnāṃ, sadana). The latter has its own lotus pools, its private entrances, and egresses, its interior courts, halls and gardens (vṛkṣavāṭika or puṣpavāṭika).[4] The garden should have flowers and trees, and a swing should be erected in the shadow of an arbour. Here also are to be found Aśoka groves and pools covered with red and white lotus. Cats, peacocks, mongoose as well as parrots and various other birds are kept to detect and destory snakes.[5]

1. Cf. G. P. Majumdar, 'Hearth and Home', 'Indian Culture', Vol. Fasc. 3 (Jan. 1937) p. 440, quoting Rāmāyana, Sundarakāṇḍa Chap. IV, VI, VII, etc., where feminine statues made of ivory decorating private apartments are mentioned.

2. Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture', 'Eastern Art', II (1930), pp. 209-235 and III (1931) pp. 181-217 ; Sivaramamurti, op. cit., G. P. Majumdar, loc. cit., and III, (July 1936) pp. 71 ff., etc.

3. Coomaraswamy, 'Eastern Art'. II. gives a summary of urban structure in ancient India which is remarkable for its great clarity.

4. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., p. 131.

5. G. P. Majumdar, 'Indian Culture', III, 1, p. 76 and III, 3, p. 438.

The furniture, accoding to Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, is essentially composed of beds, couches, pedestals and small tables along with cushions and carpets.[1]

In these quiet and pleasant surroundings, toilet and adornment are the main occupation ; as a matter of fact these two activities have been counted amongst the arts (Śukranītisāra IV, III, 135) which is in accordance with the ethnographical point of view, and consists of innumerable operations amongst which rank foremost : looking at oneself in a mirror (ādāsaṇ), combing one's hair (sikhā-bandhan), anointing one's body with sandal paste (anulepana) and annointing the soles of one's feet with lacquer (alaktaka), adorning oneself with jewellery, flowers and garlands.[2]

All these details can be found in plenty in the Begrām ivories. Apart from two scenes from Jātaka[3] and a few hunting scenes, the great majority of the subjects deal with women's toilet and adornment and with various activities indulged in by the womenfolk of the palace (Pl. IV, Figs. a, c, d). Whilst female guards (yavanī) armed with pikes (prāsa), are on watch over the ramparts and the door-keepers (dvarapālī or dauvārikā) lean on their halberts (Pl, IX. No 79 and 80),[4] their mistresses dress their hair and admire themselves in their mirrors (mukura, Pl. IV. a, d ; Pl. IX, No, 73, 74, 75),[5] reclining the while on a day-bed or sitting amongst the Aśoka trees on an ornamented stool ; maid-servants (sairandhrā and prasādhikā) hasten to help them, massage them, bring forth their jewels, and dye the soles of their feet ; others bring them *pan* and spice boxes, pots of pomade, baskets of jewels, while other still (cāmaradhāriṇī or kirātī) cool

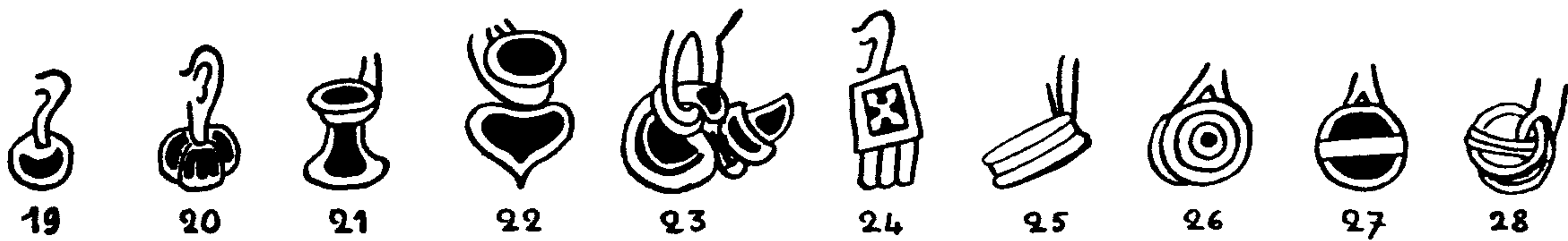
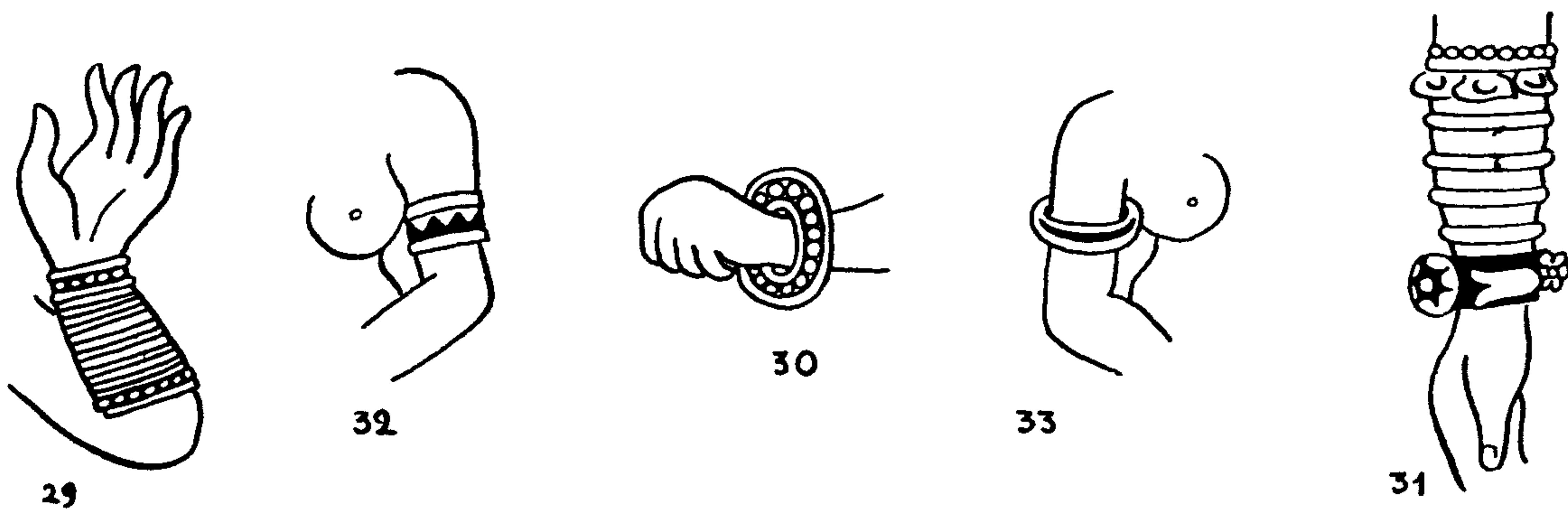
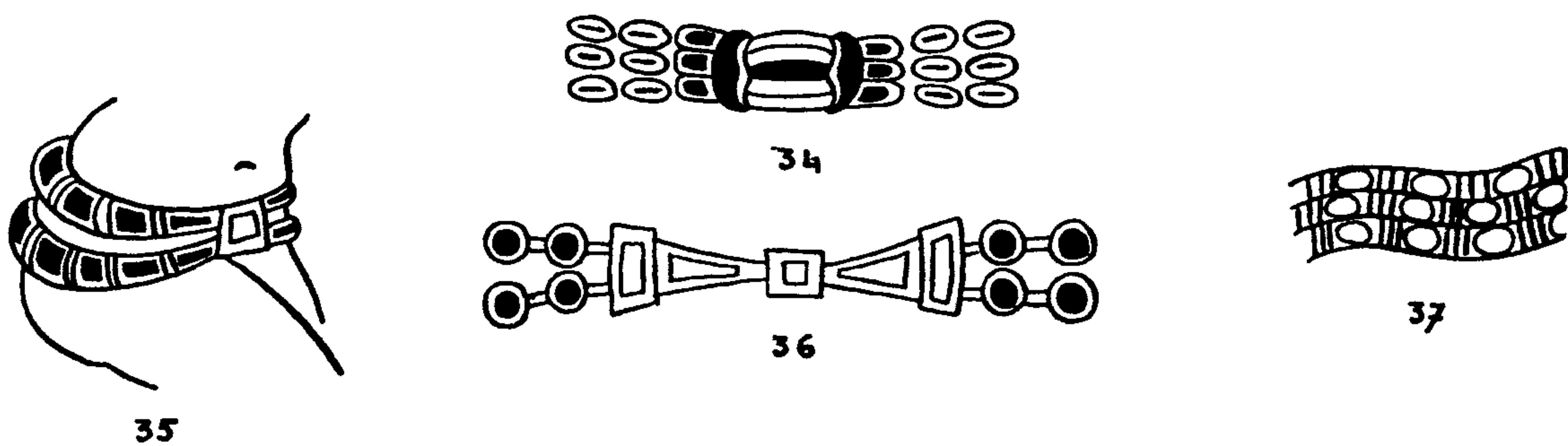
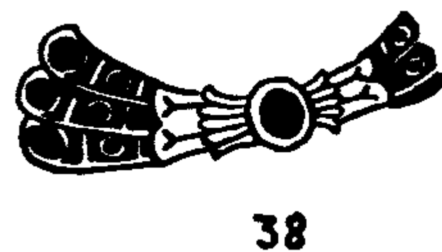
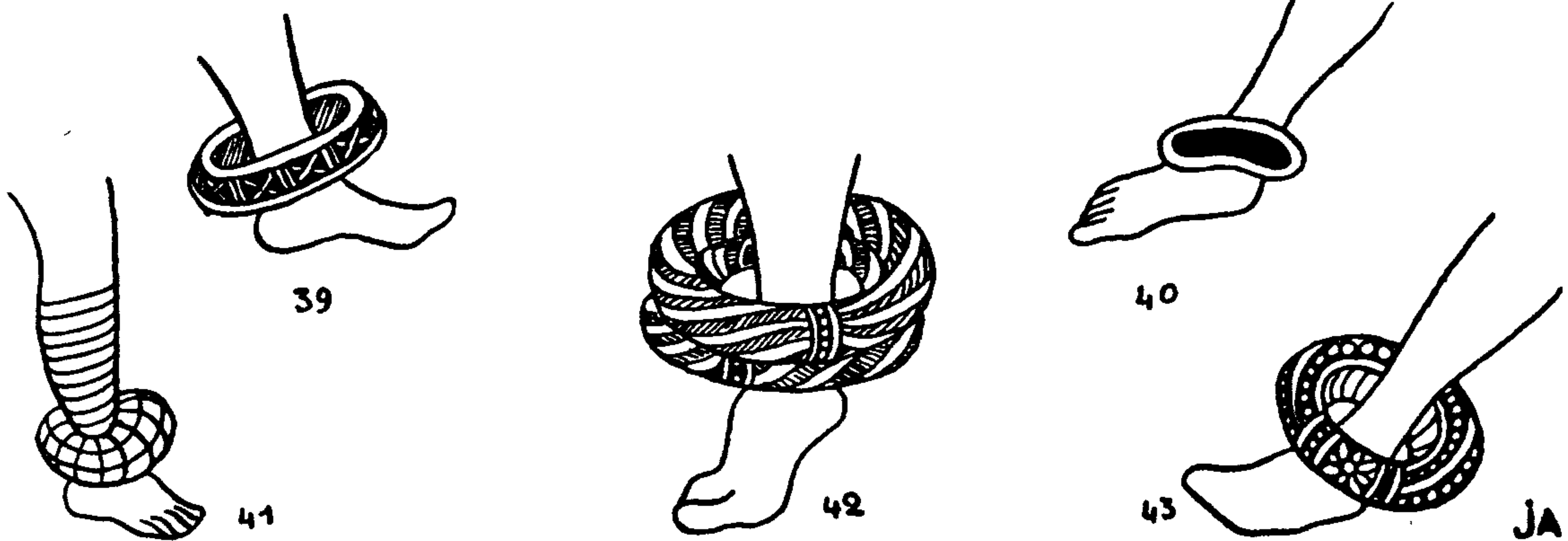
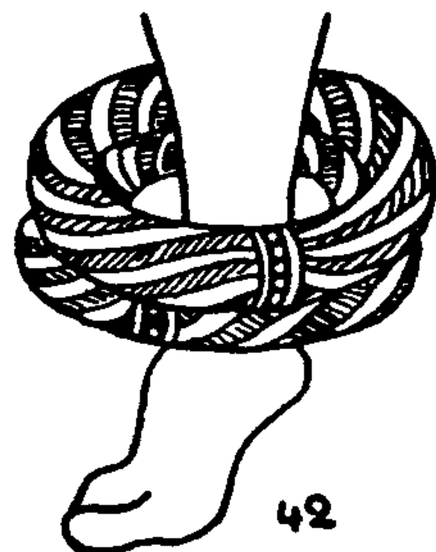
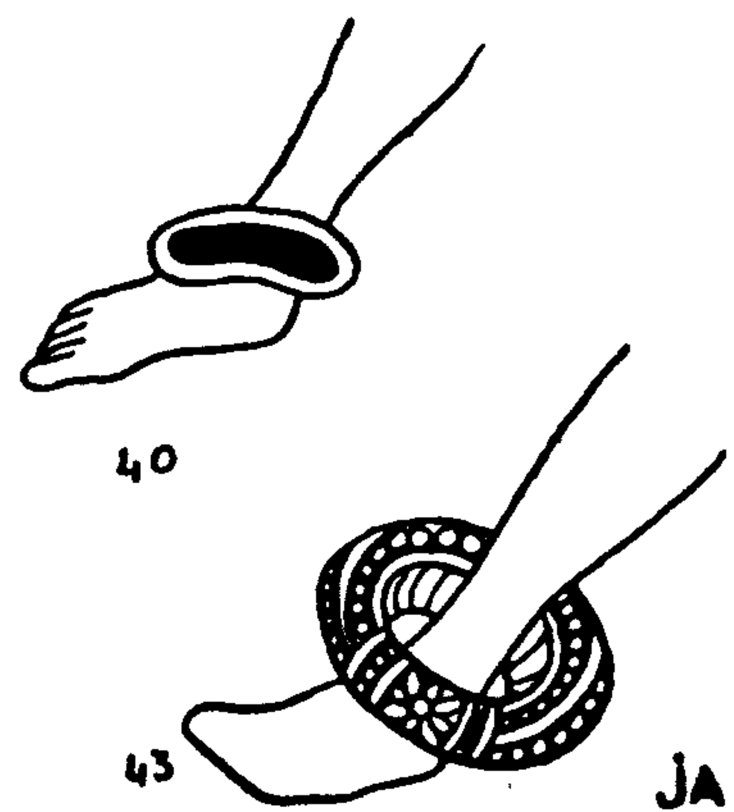
1. G. P. Majumdar, 'Furniture', Indian Culture, Vol. II Fasc. 1, (July 1935) p. 74.

2. G. P. Majumdar, 'Toilet', Indian Culture, Vol. I, Fasc. 4 (April 1935), p. 651 ; Sivaramamurti op cit., p. 119 sq.

3. Foucher, 'Deux Jātaka sur Ivoire', 'India Antiqua', 1947, p. 124 as relating to the illustration of the Jātaka No. 253 which tells the story of the Maṅgalāśva (ratna-horse), of the king of Benares, and that of the Jātaka No. 25 which relates the love which bound a young anchorite Ekaśṛṅga and the princess Nalinī.

4. Foucher "L'art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra", II pp. 70-71 and notes ; Cf. Rāmāyana, Sundarakāṇḍa, VI, 9, : "...Everywhere women of the highest order were to be found . who mounted guards as disciplined sentries". Already mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, their existence was perpetuated until the time of the Mughals.

5. This is a theme frequently illustrated at Mathurā and Amarāvatī, and often described in literature. Cf. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., pp. 119, sq.


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them with fans (tālavanta) (PI. I, d ; Pl, VI No. 61-64), and fly switches (cāmara or cauri) (PI. IX, No. 60). Meanwhile female musicians and dancers provide entertainment ; in the background the female bearer of the royal sword (khaḍgavāhinī) (Pl, IX, No. 76) and the dwarfs, one of which is attired the mail garb, pass to and fro [1]. Or else sitting in the shade of an Aśoka tree, a banana tree or a blossoming mango tree, mistresses and attendants partake of refreshments and delicaeies which they share with pets such as ducks, parrots or geese. (Pl. IV, Fig. d). Elsewhere they pluck Aśoka boughs, or amuse themselves with a ball or a swing. The young mothers play with their children ; they carry them astride their hip and suckle them as they walk.

All these figures are recognisable by their attitudes or their costumes; A Rājā clothed in the usual dhoti and turban (uṣṅiṣa) (Pl. V, No. 6), anchorites (vāṇiprastha) with flowing hair and loin-cloth made of bark (valkala), hunters and horsemen protected by a close-fitting, double-breasted and pointed coat with long sleeves, and narrow tight-ankled breeches, ornamented with a beaded braid down the side (Pl. VIII, No. 52), equerries (sūta) and mahouts (hastipaka) clothed in trousers, great coats (Pl. V, No 2) and conical bonnets (Pl, V. No. 5), etc. As to the women, whose representations are innumerable, they were a long striped dhotī (Pl. V, No 3), numerous jewels (Pl. V, No. 17, 18 ; Pl. VI) and an elaborate head-dress varying from thick striped and beaded turbans (Pl V, No 10)[2], embellished with pins (sarpesh ; Pl. IV, Fig. c) or Aśoka twigs (Pl. IV, Figs. a, c), to knotted coils (keśapāśa) (Pl. V, No 13) and light diadems ; a frequent characteristic of these head-dresses is a circle or oval displayed above the forehead, which are to be met

1. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, XI, 80 : "One of these young ladies having put on a man's dress was reclining, overtaken by sleep" (description of the banquet hall of the palace of Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā). Another woman shown at Begrām (Pl. 2, No. 7) wears pantaloons, but they appear under a wide skirt (āprapadīna) with the train (?) thrown over her left arm : Cf. 'Amarāvatī', by Sivaramamurti op. cit., Pl. VIII 36. According to this author a pantaloon was the prerogative of ladies of high birth (varastrī)

2. This same tissue is used for the upholstery of beds and chairs, and also for wrapping up certain dishes and certain jewels laid in baskets. It is difficult to give an exact estimation of the various tissues shown at Begrām.

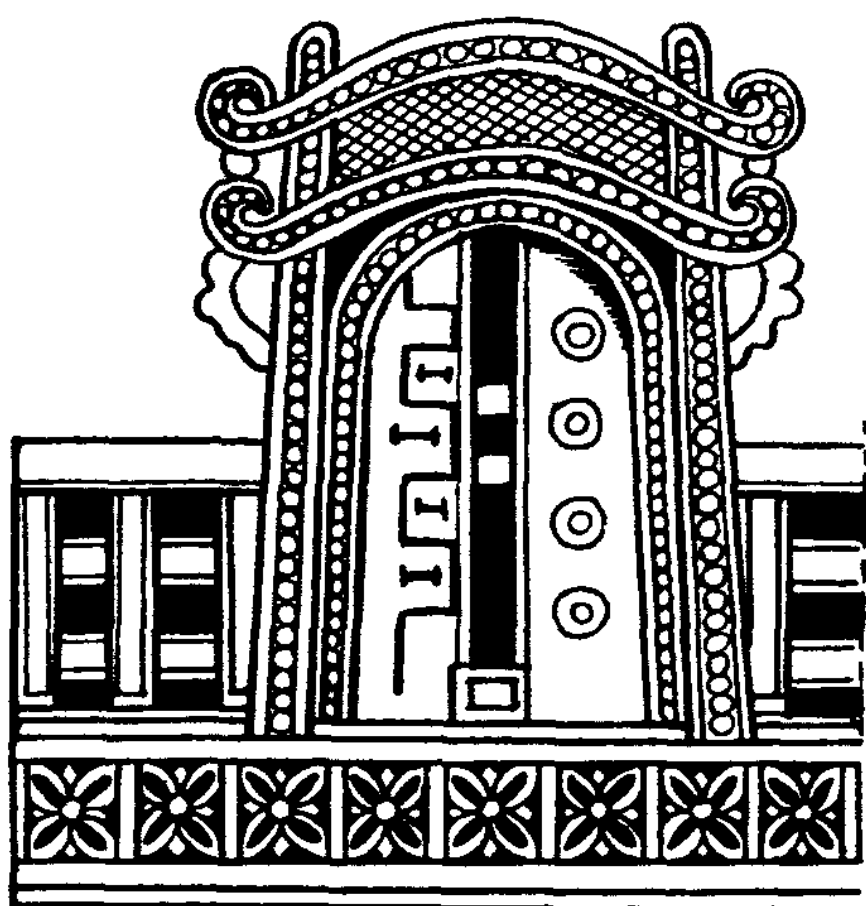
with both in Mathurā and Amarāvatī (Pl. V, Nos. 12, 14) [1]. Mistresses and maids are dressed and adorned in a very simillar fashion ; dancers and musicians, in addition, sometimes wear a scarf which passes on their nape of the neck, and floats about their arms. The little girls wear the same dresses and jewellery as the women ; as for the boys, they are naked, their hair knotted in the shape of an egg on the forepart of their heads (śikhaṇḍa, Pl V. No, 9), and are protected against evil influences by a necklace of tiger claws (Pl. V. No 16).

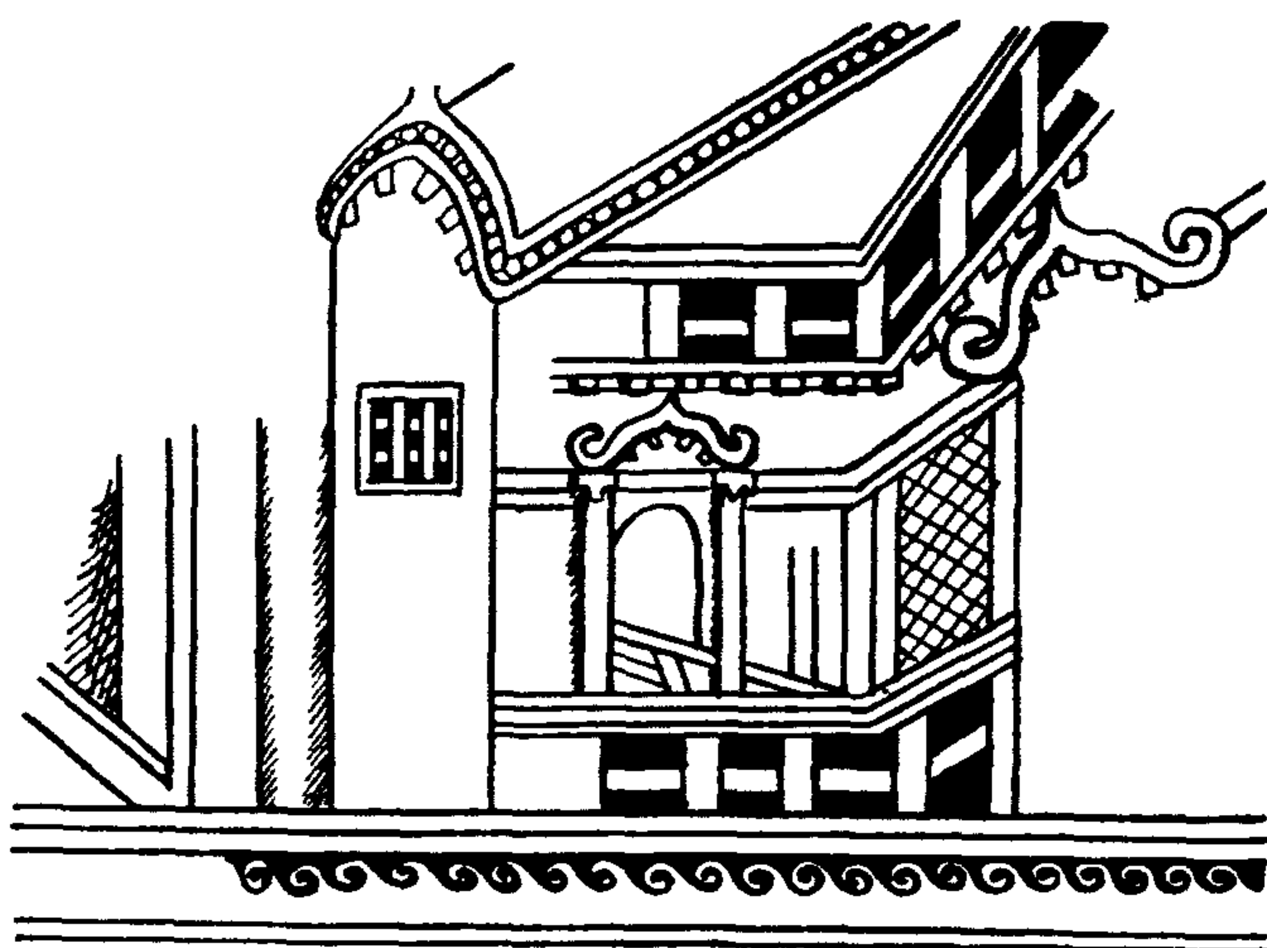
Amongst all these variously garbed and bedecked creatures, which, one must picture in all the sumptuous medly of their dreses, amongst the jingling of their bracelets and girdles, the harmonies of the musical instruments, and swathed in the varied perfumes with which their bodies are anointed [2], there live all the familiar animals who enjoy the same degree of intimacy as do cats and dogs of to-day in a Western household. The geese in play nibble the trailing hair of the women (PI. IV, Fig. b), the ducks beg for tit-bits, the peacocks are fed a-high on there perch, the parrots alight unceremoniously on their mistresses' arms or laps. We notice, by the way. that the choice of these pets, also indicated in the texts, answers to the need of detecting snakes. Numerous other birds of doubtful identification, are also depicted in these feminine surroundings. This is easily explained if we bear in mind the fact that every household is supplid with an aviary (viṭaṅka) set close to the pratridges, pigeons (Mrcchakatikā, IV, 28-30). Cats and small felines pursue them, lie in wait for them or even devour them.

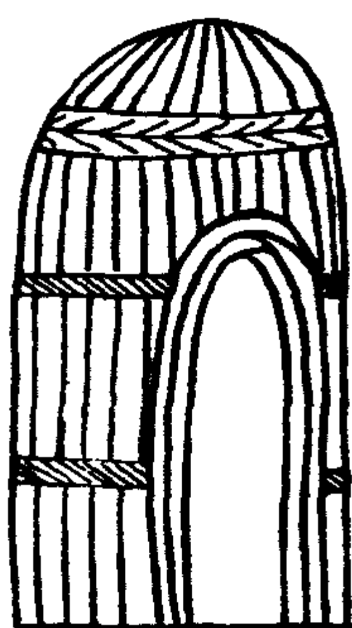
Elephants, horses, buffaloes are stabled in the first court near the main entrance, and are used for conveyance and hunting (Pl, VIII, No. 51, 52). The elephant is led with a goad (aṅkuśa ; Pl. IX, No 78) and the horse with a whip (lāśa).

1. Vogel, "La Sculpture de Mathurā, Ars Asiatica" Vol. XV, Pl. XIX c. : Sivaramamurti, op. cit., Pl. IX, 2.

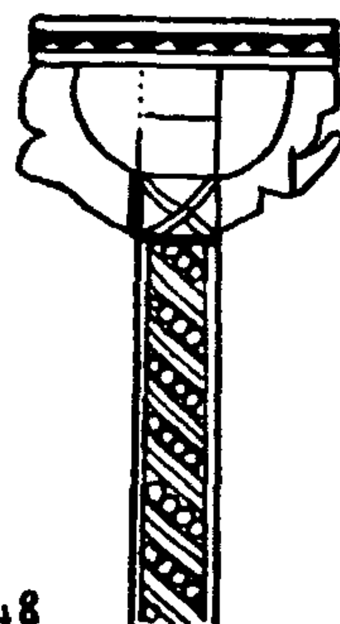
2. G. P. Majumdar, 'Toilet', Indian Culture, I, 4, pp. 651 sq.

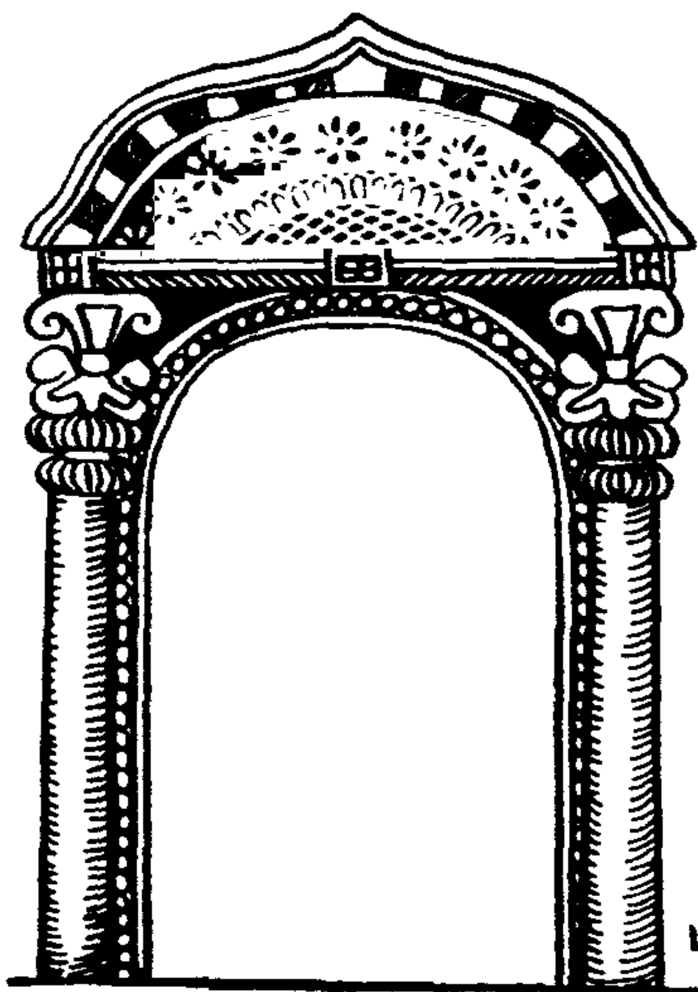

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Wild animals are hunted in various ways : the wild bear, the gazelle and the stag with a boar-spear or a lance ; the elephant and the agile feline with a bow and arrows (Pl. IX, no. 82, 3 and 4) ; the bull is ensnared with a strong knotted rope. The huntsman often wears a sheathed knife in his belt (Pl. IX, no. 77) and a shield for protection (Pl. IX, no. 81). One must add to these animals a tapir (?), a wolf (?), a monkey, an owl and also various fish which are used for decorations in the same manner as in Mathurā.[1]

This animated throng of human and animal figures lives in the midst of another one composed of mythical and hybrid beings, quite as numerous and varied : various species of monster-like men, anguipeds with fin-like ears, Yakṣa, with or without wings, generally in the role of telamones, Gaṇa bearing garlands, Kinnara and Kinnarī half men and half birds. 'From the animal kingdom, monsters, such as Leogryphs, winged felines and lions, polycephalic snakes or Nāga, hearldic Garuḍa-birds, Makara and Kāla play a part in a great number of decorative compositions. Beings of an even more composite nature are also to be met with : a man with the horns of a ram and the body of a lion, grylles,—the subject of meticulous studies by J. Hackin,[2] etc These mythological people form a kind of background against which stand out the figure of 'real' men and animals with all their characteristics and habits.

These scenes, as we have said, are enacted in a simplified setting where a tree may suggest an arbour, and a door a dwelling (Pl. IV, fig. d). Inspite of this simplification, the ivories of Begrām supply us with priceless architectural information, for, in no stone relief nor mural paintings have we yet been able to admire such Toraṇa,[3] nor such portals crowned with the Indian arch, decorated in so fine a manner, nor so painstakingly reproduced.

1. Vogel, op. cit., pl. LIV, a.

2. Archaeological researches at Begrâm, 1937, pp 20 ss.

3. This word is usually applied to doors and porticos composed of an undulated architrave of the Japanese Torii type ; we will therefore comply with this custom and refer to them by the name of "Toraṇa", preferably to other forms of doors.

The toraṇas vary from the simplest one-linteled type to the more elaborate ones with 3 lintels, covered with a profusion of symbols (jālatoraṇa, Pl. IV d ; Pl. VIII, no. 44). They can best be compared with those elements which are to be found in Mathurā.[1] A type of toraṇa peculiar to Begrām displays architraves composed of the assembled bodies of four or five headed Nāgas (Pl. 1d)[2].

The Toraṇa bears a relation to the door of the ordinary dwelling (gṛha-dvāratoraṇa), with its rounded leaves (kavāta or kapāṭā), or its sunken threshold between two stambhas and its central catch (indrakīla) against which its panels come to bear[3]. The latter, in Begrām, are ornamented with special carved decorations ; a kind of vertical Greek key-pattern, a horizontal "I" and circles ; it is possible that these were metal inlays, handles and knockers[4]. The door are always shown a-jar, and one can sometimes make out through the opening, one or two elements which might well be the bars for securing the doors (pāligha, Skt ; parigha) mentioned in the Buddhacarita, v. 82 (Pl. VII no. 44).[5]

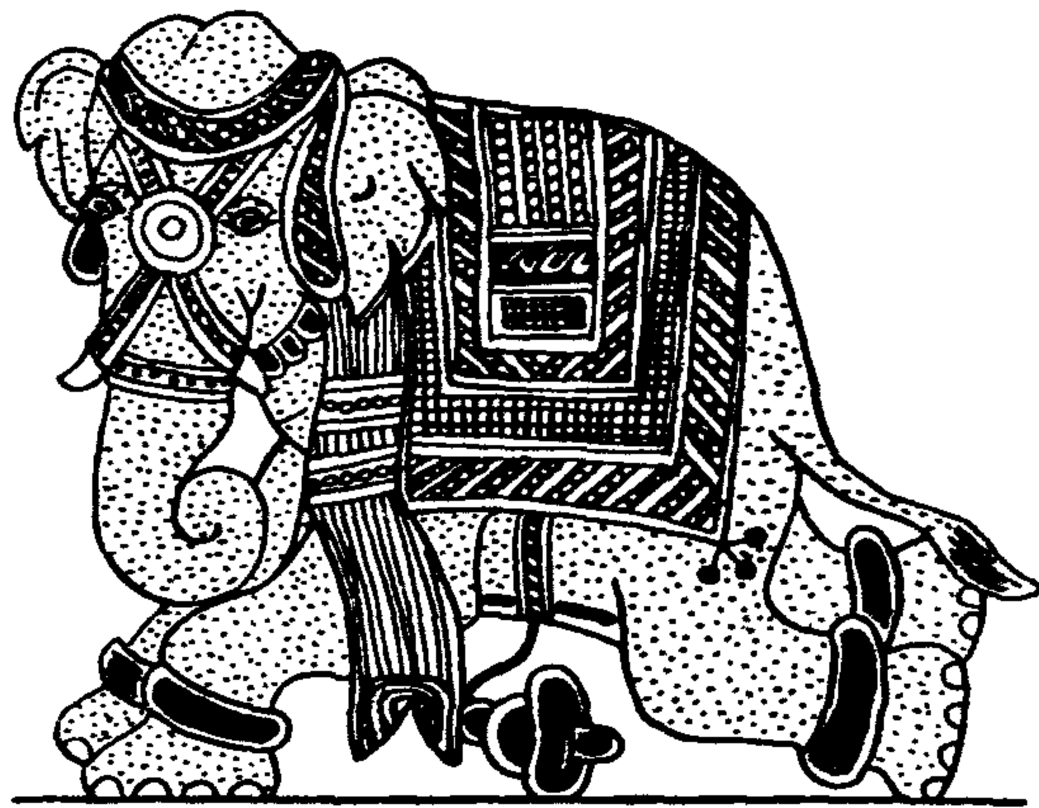
1. Vogel, op. cit. pl. Vb and VIa. In fact the types reproduced at Amarāvati are either less ornamented or more elaborate. The evolution of the toraṇa is indicated by three principal characteristics : (1) the lintels are "welded" to each other. (2) The abuttments of the lintels, which, in the early types, project from the stambha, are first replaced by independent makara which converge ; later they are totally suppressed, (3) the summit of each stambha is adorned with a corroguated cussinet or some architectural element which later will become a minature 'pancaram'. All this effects a notable transformation in the silhouette of the toraṇa which, till then, resembled a Japanese Torii. It now becomes more and more akin to the portico (gopura-toraṇa), frequently found during the medieval period in Gujerat aud Kathiwar in particular. The Begrām type bears a close resemblence to that of Mathurā, even in its smallest detail ; even there one finds (Vogel, pl. V b) the arch-shaped link between the lower lintel and the stambha which is also seen joining the back to the uprights of chairs (Amarāvatī and Begrām school). It is also outstanding at Nasik, cave 3 (Fergusson and Burgess, 'Cave temples of India', pl. XX).

2. Although to our knowledge, similar toraṇas are found nowhere else, J. Hackin has very rightly recalled, as regards to them, the stupa shown on a Amaravati relief, the dome of which is covered with the bodies of intertwined nāgas, which form a sort of large net—cf. S. Levi and O. Brühl. "Aux Indes, Sanctuaires" Pl. 20.

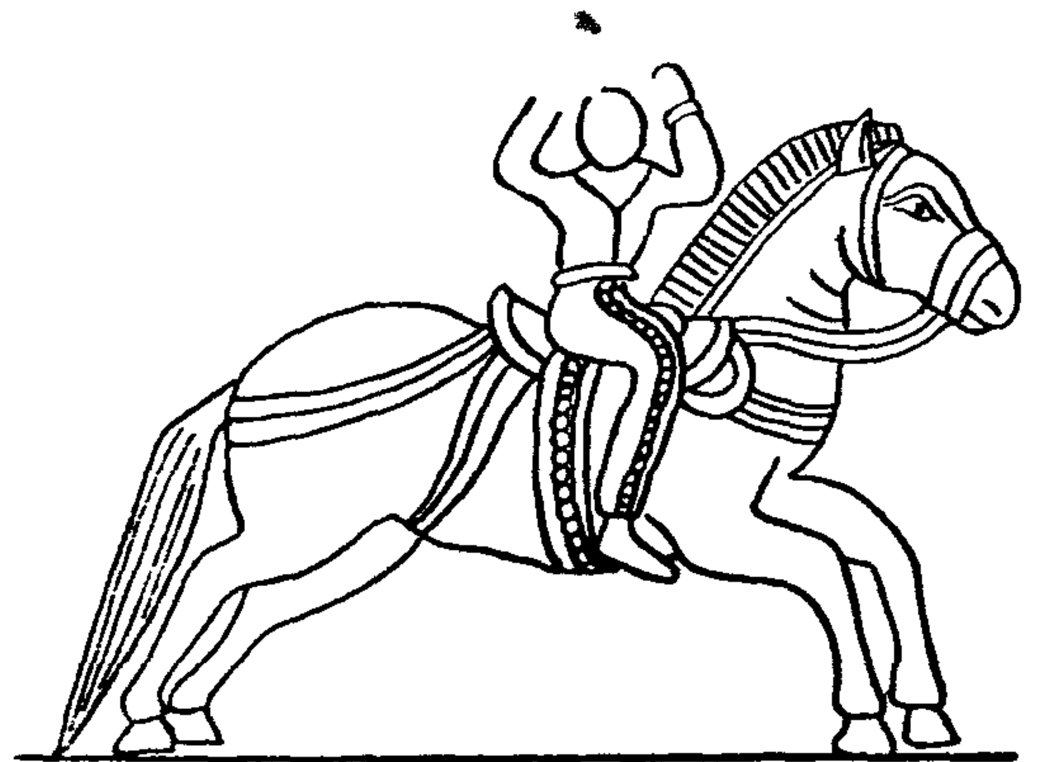
3. Cf. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, Vol. II p. 215 and 12 and P. 221. In Mathurā one finds panels of the same shape. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, Vol. III, 25, 46, 47, 48, 49 ; Vogel, op. cit. pl. XX b and c, XXIII c,—cf. descriptions in Mahāvaṃsa, XXV 28 ; and Mṛcchakaṭika, IV 28-30.

4. Foucher, "Two Jātakas on ivory", loc. cit., states the probable presence of a knocker in the Maṅgalāśva scene, Pl. VII a.

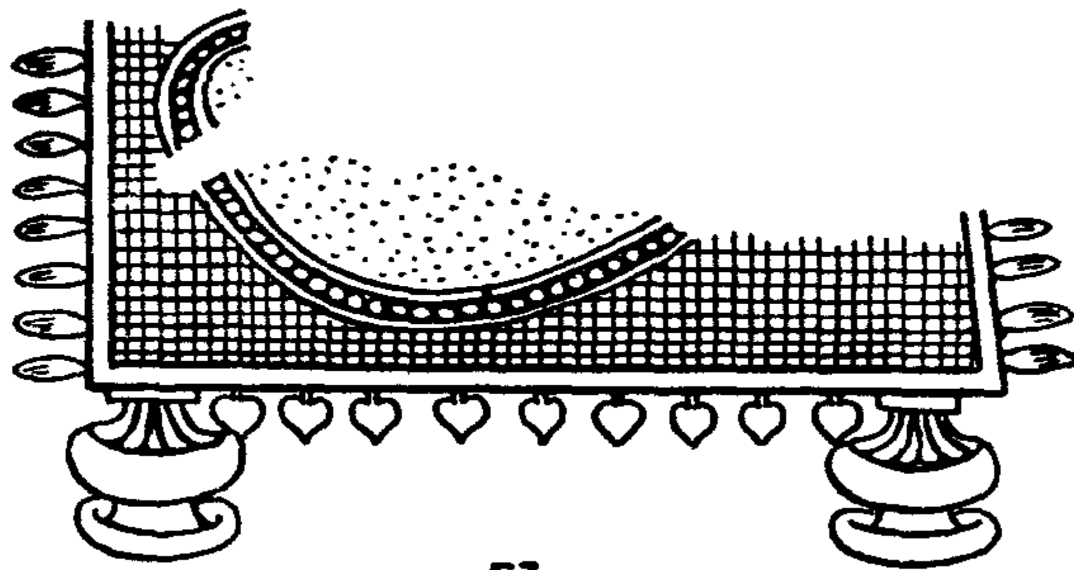
5. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art. Vol. II, p. 217 and N. 13.



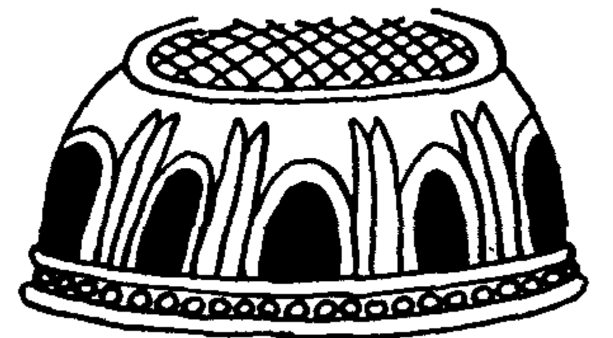
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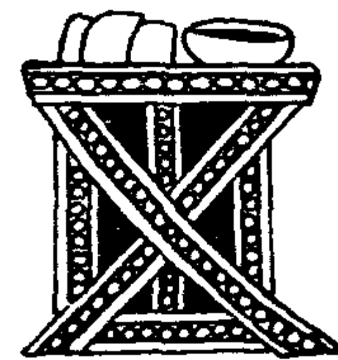
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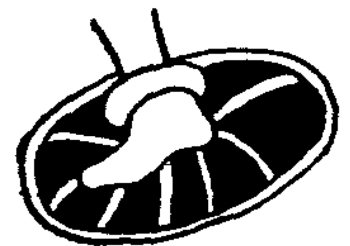
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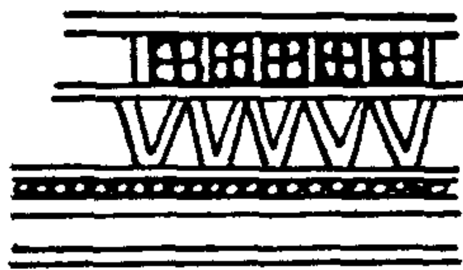
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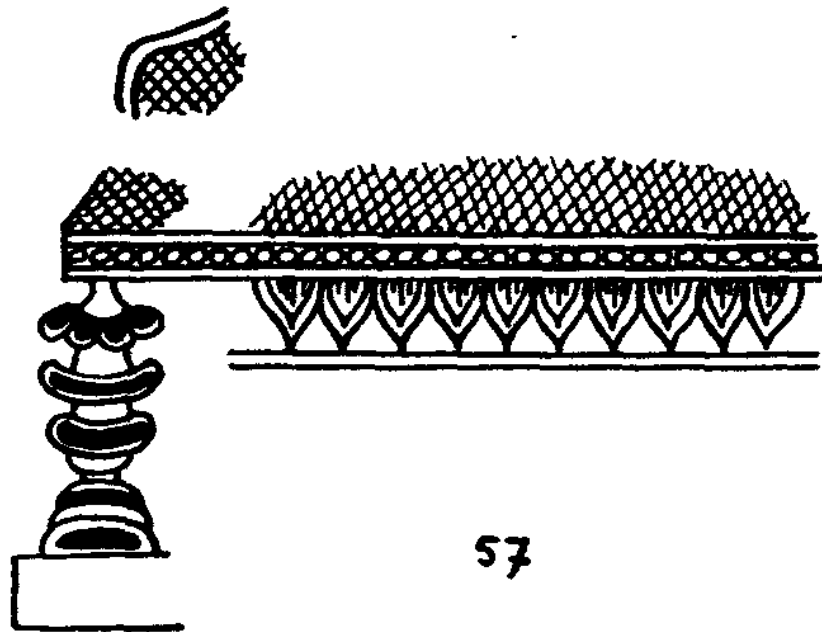


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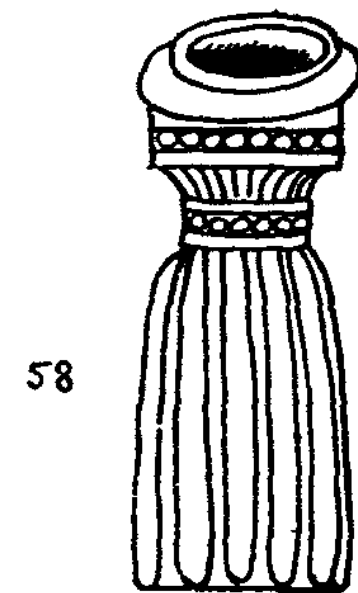


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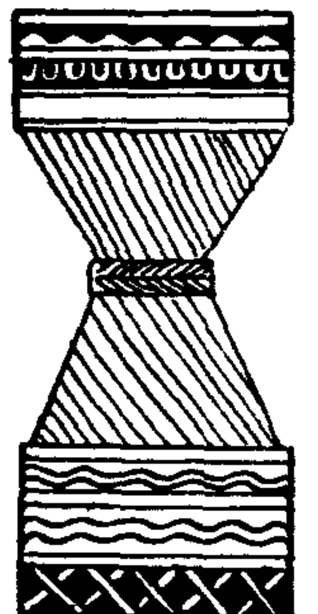




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The doors, topped with the Indian arch fulfill the same purpose as the toraṇa. They can be divided into principal groups by comparing their component parts, according to whether their stambhas are fitted or not with capitals. When these are lacking, the stambhas reach under the porch ; they are assembled by means of more or less stylised hoops and connected to the porch by cylindrical cross-pieces (Pl. I d ; Pl. VII, no. 50) ; this aspect of the Indian arched door, should be compared to that of Lomaśa Ṛsi (a comparison which J. Hackin did not fail to make) and to the Caitya of Kārlī.[1] In the second case the capitals support the arch, and the spacing of the stambha is ensured by a straight lintel (Pl. VII, no. 49) or by hoops (Pl. 1 c) ; in this type, the capitals widen out into volutes and into "crossed" animals which are often ridden by small fignres (Pl. IV c ; Pl. VII, no 47) : these, as well as all the others in Begrām, are comparable to those of Mathurā[2] which on the other hand, recall the the pseudo-Corinthian capitals of Gandhāra and the Parthian ones of Warka[3].

These two types of doors, those with undulated lintels and those with Indian arches, are generally flanked by balustrades (vedikā), which play an important decorative part in the Begrām ivory collection.

To these architectural elements must be added the gopura, or cradle volted town-gates, supplied with a window (vātapāna) fitted with lattice-work (jāla) and sometimes provided with a wall (prākāra) behind which stand women armed with spears.

Apart from a two columned 'pañcaram'—whose capital are of the type described hereabove—and the lower storey of 'prāsāda' with alternating doors and pillars, mention must be made of an 'antepurikā', that is to say the building where the gynaeceum of the royal palace was housed, consisting of an elongated cradle—arched building, similar to the gopura, coupled with a two-storey pavilion (dvi-bhūmikā), the flat roof (prastara) of which opens on to a verandha (alinda). It

1. Coomaraswamy, 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art,' Pl. IX, no. 29.
2. Cf. Vogel, op. cit., pl XXb, LIV a, LIX a; Combaz, "Inde et l'Orient Classique', pl. 9.
3. Combaz, op. cit., pl. 23 (top right.)

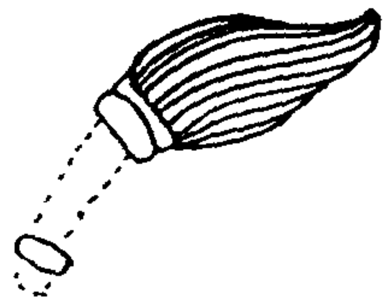
has two doors topped with an Indian arch, one of which (the one facing us), seems to lead on to a staircase (sopāna, Pl. VII, no. 45), and a hut made of reeds (parṇa-kūṭī), symbolising an āśrama (Pl. VII no. 46), and a stable for the 'ratna'-horse of the Cakravartin[1] complete the architectural information provided by Begrām.

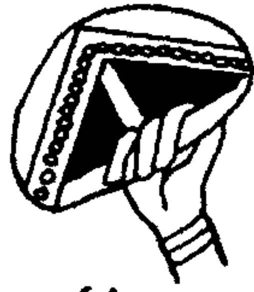
In this architectural setting and amongst the neighbouring trees, a whole lot of implements and various accessories of every-day use are represented in the Begrām ivories. The furniture, as purported by the texts, consists solely of stools, beds, cushions and foot-stools (Pl. 1d, ; Pl. VIII, no. 55), consoles, pedestal tables (Pl. VIII, no. 55) and wickerwork brackets (bhojana-phalaka or paṭṭakaṇḍolika) (Pl. IVd ; Pl. VIII, no. 58 and 59)[2]. There are various types of stools ; wickerwork poufs, (vettamañca or veḷumañca, Pl. VIII, no. 54), examples of which may be found as early as Bharut and as late as the 5th or 6th century[3] ; rectangular stools, with feet and sometimes a back (Pl. IV d ; Pl. VIII, no. 57). These stools are sometimes composed of criss-cross leather bands sunk at regular intervals in the frame ; which is quite in accordance with the descriptions of the texts (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. IV. 1. ; Pl, VIII, no. 53) ; sometimes also, they are covered with a rug, the serrated edges of which fall around the frame (Pl. VIII, no. 57). The legs generally assume the form of a vase (kumbha) taken from the architectural repertoire (Pl. IV d ; Pl. VIII, no. 53) ; others more in keeping with the technique of wood and ivory work are spindle-turned and rest on caster-sockets (Pl. VIII, no. 57) ; they seem to belong to a transition period, which is well defiined at Gandhāra and also depicted at Mathurā and Amarāvatī. As for the backs of those stools they are either straight, with a cross-bar joining the two upper ends of

1. Foucher, loc. cit., pp. 126 sq. and pl. IX a.

2. These stands on which are placed trays, baskets, vases, of fruits and flowers, affect the shapes often twisted and constricted by a tie about half way up. These of Mathurā (specimens at the British Museum, dated of Kanikṣa) and of Amarāvatī (Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjuna-konda', Madras Presidency ; Memoires of the A. S. I., No. 54, pl. XXa) are very similar. Those of Begrām are particularly elaborate.

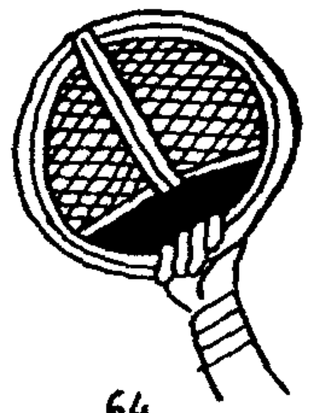
3. Specially at Sāñcī, Bhājā, Mathurā, at Gandhāra, at Ajaṇṭā (Cave X), Amarāvatī, Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa, Goli, Ceylon, on the Gupta coins and lastly at Bādāmi (Cave 1).


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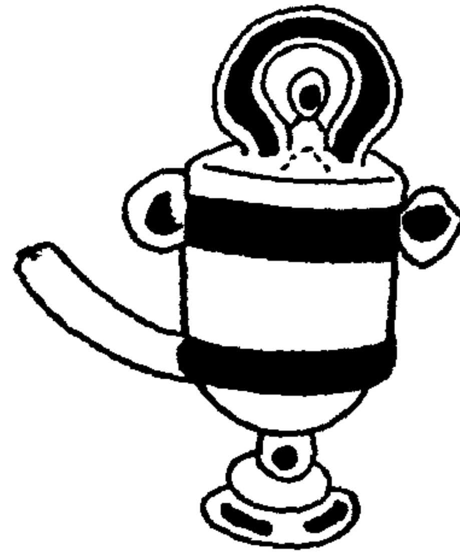

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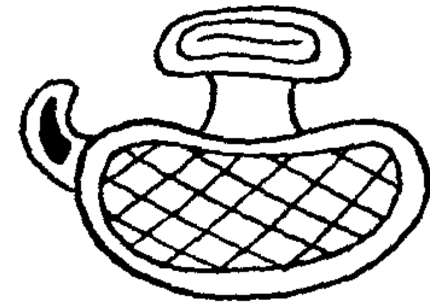

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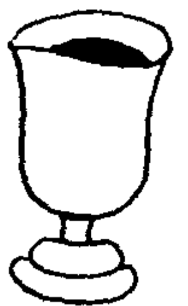

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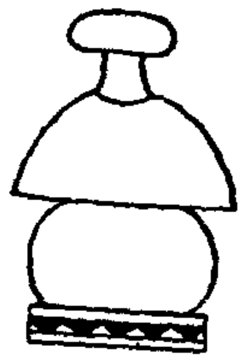

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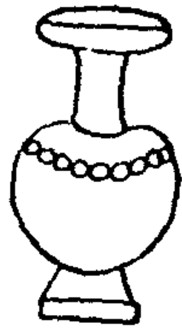

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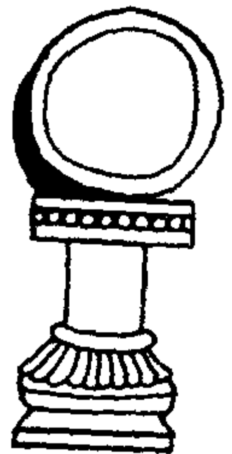

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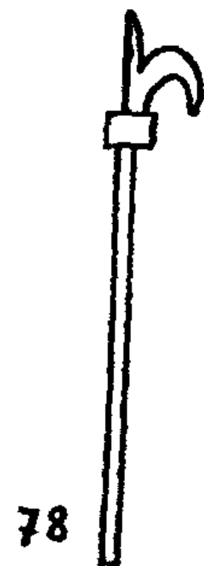

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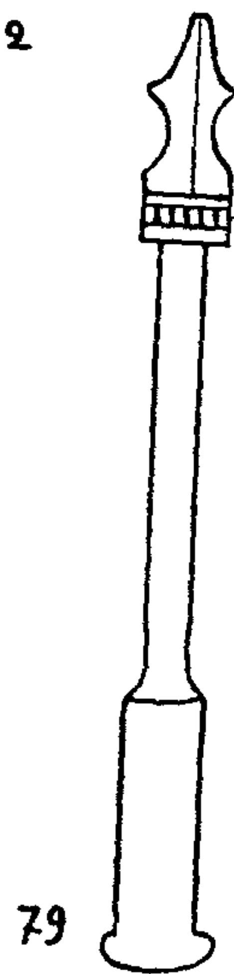

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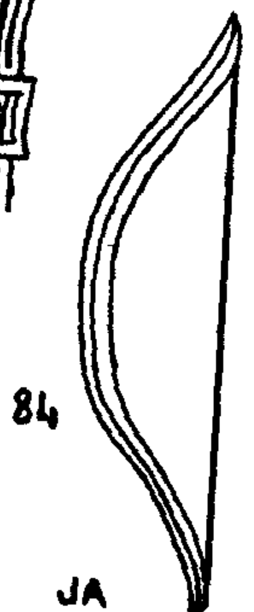

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the uprights[1] or, slightly concave and topped by two elements recalling the head of a Makara, a subject which is often met with at Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[2] and which is the first stage towards the decorative type whose fame was to become so widespread by-and-by.[3]

The table-services are very simple. They could be compared, on account of their identical shapes (pl. IVa), with the implements used for toilet and adornment. Drinking vessels assume the form of standless bowls (pānapātra[4] and goblets, pl. IX, no. 65, 69). Liquids are kept in aiguieres or ewèrs or bhṛṅgāra (pl. IX no. 66, 67, 68), the shapes of which are closely related to the models found in Bharhut[5], Mathurā[6], Ajaṇṭā and to a pottery found in Taxila. Water is contained in squat thick-necked jars (loṭā, kumbha, amṛta-kalaśa, purṇaghaṭa) which are still in use to this day and are endowed with a particularly sacred character.[7] The models found in Begrām are closely related to those of Amarāvatī[8] and Mathurā, where one finds, as in Begrām, a strip of cloth tied around the bulge[9].

1. It is the very same kind of chair that J and R. Hackin found in the Begrām excavations of 1939/40, the cross-bars of which are sculptured in the shape of leogryphs ridden by a woman. It is represented in a similar form at Mathura (Vogel, op. cit. pl. XLVI a).

2. Longhurst, op. cit. Pl. XIV a, XIX c, XLV a, XLVI b.

3. J. Auboyer, "Le trone et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne" (to be published).

4. The shape of those cups is identical with that of those which are represented in Ajaṇṭā for instance, Cave I (Yazdani, Ajaṇṭā, Vol. I. pl. XXVII, XXXIX a), Cave II (Yazdani, op. cit., Vol. II, pl. XI), etc—.K. de B. Codrington, 'The Culture of Mediaveal India as illustrated by the Ajaṇṭā Frescoes', "Indian Antiquary,' August and September 1930,") remarks that these cups, at Ajaṇṭā are found in the Bacchanalian scenes ; to him it would appear to be of Mediterranean or Iranian origin. Mr. Codrington reminds us that import of wine in India is mentioned in the Roman text. This is definitely stated by the Tamil text and confirmed by the excavations at Virapatnam : a number of aretine amphoras found there contained internal traces of rosin which was frequently used in the preparation of Mediterranean wines ; Cf. Wheeler, Ghosh and Krishna deva in 'Ancient India,' No. 2 (July, 1946), p. 41. Vineyards are still cultivated in the district of Nasik.

5. Bachhofer, 'Early Indian Sculpture', I. pl. 20 (top right).

6. Vogel op. cit. pl. IX a.

7. Re. this symbolism etc., cf. for instance, Coomaraswamy, 'Yakshas', II pp. 61 ff. 'Hobogirin', pp. 265 ff ; Combaz, L' Inde et L' Orient classique', I,·p. 174 ; Fabri, Mesopotamian and Early Indian art comparisons', Mêlanges d' Orientalisme' published by Musee Guimet, in memory of de Raymonde Linossier, tr. I, pp. 203 ff ; Coomaraswamy and Kershaw, Artibus Asiae, 1928-29 ; etc.

8. Coomaraswamy, 'Yakshas', II, pl. 28 1 ; and 33. 1.

9. Vogel, Catalogue, p. 163 ; A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10 pl. XXVIII (ref. given by J. Hackin.)

Apart from the weapons, the uses of which have been described hereabove, the house contained musical instruments. The male musicians, shown on two ivory bands, are a kind of dwarfs. They use flat cymbals, a drum, probably circular in shape, held by a bauldric and beaten with a stick[1], another domeshaped drum secured by means of a strap over right shoulder, and played with the two naked hands, and lastly, a horn, with an upward curved bell.

The female orchestras generally accompany a dancer, and are composed of cymbals (?), a drum, an arched harp (vīṇā), a transverse flute, and perhaps also the clapping of hands. In this case the drum might have the shape of an hour-glass ; in others, it is pot-bellied. and tightening things seem to be laced "w" wise.

The briefness of this study has not allowed us to exhaust the information provided by the Begrām ivories. We hope, nevertheless, to have given a sufficiently exact idea of the accessories which went to make the setting of the familar scenes which the ivories of old have reproduced with such obliging skill. The admirable work of Joseph and Ria Hackin will find an echo in all those who love Indian art, for it reveals a perfection of technique unknown to the Indianists of old which rivals the most beautiful of Indian reliefs.

Trans. Charles Gratry

1. It is the type of drum found as early as the Bharut period the characteristics of which remain from the first to the 4th century approximately ; they are found more speeially in Mathura. cf. C.M. Dubois, "Les instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne," pp. 41 ff.

An illustrated article on "An Early Pāla Ivory", by Sherman E. Lee, and three plates No. X, XI and XII, had to be left out for unavoidable reasons. This is very much regretted. The article and the illustrations will be included in Vol. XVII of JISOA which is expected to be released from press by March, 1952 at the latest.

Hony. Secretary

INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART

SŪRYA

Ādityas and the Navagrahas

by J. N. BANERJEA

The worship of the sun as a prominent deity was prevalent among almost all the ancient nations of the world, for the celestial luminary appealed greatly to their religious instincts. He was held by the Indians of the Vedic age in the highest esteem along with other nature gods. Sacrifices were offered to the sun-god in his various aspects under such names as, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Puṣan, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra and Viṣṇu, each personifying to a greater or lesser extent the different attributes of the sun. Sūrya, 'the most concrete of the solar deities was directly connected with the visible luminous orb', and various qualities and functions were attributed to him ; Savitṛ, 'the stimulator of everything' ('sarvasya prasavitā', 'Nirukta', 10, 31) denoted his abstract qualities. The conception underlying Puṣan appears to have centred round 'the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity'. Bhaga, according to Yāska, is the presiding deity of the forenoon, though its association with the sun is not very clear ; he is 'regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns as a distributor of wealth', usually the gift of Indra and Agni. Vivasvat seems to have originally represented the rising sun, but like the Avestan Vivanhvant, the first mortal that prepared Haoma (Vedic Soma), he is usually regarded as the first sacrificer, the ancestor of the human race. Mitra, whose connection with Sūrya is a little obscure in the 'Ṛgveda' where he is mainly celebrated along with Varuṇa, is an Indo-Iranian god ; his later Iranian aspect influenced to a great extent the sun-worship in northern India. Aryaman, another less defined aspect of Sūrya, is an Indo-Iranian deity ; but he is so

devoid of individual traits, that the 'Naighaṇṭuka' does not include him in its list of the gods. The most interesting of the different solar deities is Viṣṇu. Originally a particular aspect of the sun, chiefly extolled in connection with his march across the firmament in three great strides, he became one of the principal constituents of the composite cult picture of the Bhāgavata or the Vaiṣṇava creed. Most of the above deites along with a few others like Aṃśa, Dakṣa, Mārtāṇḍa, etc. came to constitute, in different groupings and in various contexts, the class of gods called Ādityas. The number of the latter was indefinite in the early Vedic texts, but it was later raised to twelve. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' once refers to the Ādityas 'as having become eight by the addition of Mārtāṇḍa, while in two others (VI. 1,2,8 ; XI. 6,3.8,) they are said to be twelve in number' but they are identified in this context with the twelve months. The epics, Purāṇas, and other later texts stick to the number, but usually name them as, Dhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Puṣan, Savitṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu. A late iconographic text describes their images as the different varieties of Sūrya, 'the expresser of the world.[1] These were usually known as the Dvādaśādityas ; we do not fail to recognise in them the names of many of the solar deities of the Vedic period. Two of the Ādityas, Dhātṛ and Rudra, were the Vedic prototypes of the Purāṇic Brahmā and Śiva, the first and last members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The worship of the Ādityas along with that of the nine so-called planets or Navagrahas came to hold a very important and unique place in the Brāhmaṇical rituals. The Navagrahas are Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu ; barring the first two and the last two, the rest are planets all right, Their place in the ritualism of the different sects, especially Brāhmaṇical, was unique ; the Navagrahas were worshipped by all in times of danger according to the 'grahayāga' or 'svastvayana vidhi', for the troubles were regarded as the outcome of the anger of these gods.

Hymns in the 'Ṛgveda', that were composed in honour of Sūrya and some of his various aspects mentioned above, contain many

1. 'Viśvakarmaśāstra' ; T.A.G. Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', Vol. I App. C, p.86.





traits which became the source of many of his characteristic features in the epic and Purāṇic periods. In some Vedic hymns, Sūrya is conceived as a celestial bird called Garutmān with beautiful wings ('divya suparṇo Garutmān') ; from this concept originated the later mythology about Garuḍa. In one verse ('R. V.', VII. 77. 3.) the sun is described as a white and brilliant steed brought by Uṣas ; but he is more often described in the hymns as moving on a car 'which is sometimes said to be drawn by one and sometimes by several, or by seven fleet and ruddy horses or mares' ('R.V.', I. 115,3-4 ; VII. 60, 3 ; VII. 63, 2 etc.). Some of the epithets or synonyms of Sūrya in the classical Sanskrit literature contain evident allusion to this Vedic imagery.[1] The elaborate story about Sūrya's marrying Saṃjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarmā's attempt at reducing this unendurable 'tejas' (effulgence) of Sūrya had its basis in the Vedic mythology about the marriage of Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar, with Vivasvat, the sun-god.[2] It will be shown afterwards how this story was used in explaining away some peculiar features of the north-Indian variety of Sūrya images.

The sun-god and his various aspects were worshipped throughout the ages of the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The sage Kauṣītaki is said to have adored the sun in the morning, at midday and in the evening for the expiation of his sins[3] ; this is the same as the 'trisandhyā' (the morning, midday and twilight adorations) of a Brāhmin believer everyday. The 'Gāyatrī Mantra', also known as 'Sāvitrī' uttered in this daily rite is derived from a Ṛgvedic verse in which Savitṛ is prayed to inspire the thoughts of those who contemplate on the excellent brilliance of the god.[4] Sūrya or Āditya is identified with

1. Among the various synonyms of Sūrya given in the 'Amarakoṣa' are 'saptāśva' and 'haridaśva' ; Svargavargaḥ', 135.

2. 'J. A. O. S', Vol. 15, 1893, pp. 172-88. The Vedic myth seems to have started from a 'brahmodya' (a riddle or a charade) passage in the 'Ṛgveda' (I, 164).

3. 'Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad', II, 5.

4. 'R. V.', III, 62, 10 : 'Tat saviturvareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt'. The verse is in the Vedic metre, 'Gāyatrī' ; it is prefixed by the 'praṇava' ('Om') and the three 'vyāhṛtis' ('bhūḥ', 'bhūva' and 'sva'). It is first invoked by a Brāhmaṇa at his initiation into the Vedic study ('upanayana').

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Brahman, the highest god in the Upaniṣads ('asāvāditya Brahma'). The Gṛhya-sūtras frequently testify to the great veneration in which he was held. The two epics are replete with allusions to Sūrya and various myths connected with him, and he is sometimes described as 'Deveśvara' (lord of gods; 'Mahābhārata', II. 50, 16—'bhāsi divi deveśvaro yathā'). Many other Sanskrit works of a general character belonging to the Gupta and early Gupta periods contain similar references. R. G Bhandarkar remarked on the basis of the above data, that 'it can not but be expected that a school should come into existence for the exclusive worship of the sun'.[1] This school or sect was that of the Sauras, a brief account of which is given in the 'Śaṃkaradigvijaya' of Ānandagiri. The Sauras believed that the sun, the principal object of their worship, was the supreme soul, the creator of the universe; they referred to the Śrutis as well as the Smṛtis in support of their belief. The 'Ṛgveda' verse (I. 115, 1) says that the sun is the soul of movable and im movable things ('Sūrya ātmā jagatastasthūṣaśca'). Ānandagiri describes six classes of Sauras all of whom bore 'nāmam' (caste mark) made of red sandal paste, wore garlands of red flowers and repeated the 'Sūrya gāyatrī' of eight syllables. The difference between these sub-sects lay in the mode of their concepts about their principal deity and their ritualistic methods. It is probable that the systematic evolution of this sect both in the north and the south of India took place in the early post Christian period in different lines. The north-Indian sun-cult undoubtedly absorbed a large amount of foreign element in it which does not seem to have influenced its south-Indian form to any appreciable extent. Literary as well as archaeological data clearly prove that it was the sun cult prevalent among the ancient Iranians, which was mainly instrumental in remodelling the worship of Sūrya in northern India. Several inscriptions of the Gupta period contain references to the images and shrines of Sūrya; some of the extant Sūrya images of the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods found in Mathura and other parts of northern India unmistakably show prominent Iranian features. The north-Indian

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems', 152

sun-cult of the Gupta age and afterwards was thus of a composite character, and there is little doubt that many kings and potentates who styled themselves in their inscriptions as 'Paramādityabhaktas' ('great devotees of the sun') were the followers of this re-orientated creed.

The growth and development of the cult of Sūrya necessitated the making of his images in various materials. But it is presumable that long before the inception of any cult, the god and his manifold aspects were being represented by means of various symbols from the Vedic times onwards. These symbols were necessary for the proper performances of the ancient Vedic rites. Sun was represented by a wheel in the religious ceremonies of the time ; a wheel very effectively symbolised the apparent movement of the god. Sometimes, the imagery was less clear ; thus a round golden plate or a fire-brand stood for the sun. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' expressly tells us that 'in piling tbe fire altar, a disc of gold should be placed on it to represent the sun' (VII. 4, 1, 10).[1] Among the extant antiquarian remains of the Vedic and early post-Vedic periods, one can recognise the symbolical forms of the deity. The punch-marked coins, the origin of which has been traced by Cunningham prior to 1000 B.C. ('Coins of Ancient India', p. 43), bear on their face various peculiar marks which can be explained as so many symbols of the great celestial luminary. A spoked wheel and its different forms are commonly found on these coins. The wheel with its variants is found also on the indigenous coins of Taxila, on those of the Audumbaras, and on many other such coins. Sun is also represented as a 'rayed disc' on these coins as well as on the coins of the local rulers of northern India. Cunningham assumed that some of the spoked wheel symbols stood for 'Dharma cakra' ; but they can equally well be taken to symbolise the sun god. Spooner's latest view about these symbols was that they were solar in character, though he would take them to be of Zoroastrian affiliation.[2] On some coins, the rayed disc of the sun is placed on an altar and surrounded by a railing, thus clearly indicating that the figure enclosed

1. Coomaraswamy observes that this gold disc might well have been the origin of the later 'prabhāmaṇḍala' or 'śiraścakra' (nimbus) ; 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art', 41.

2. 'JRAS', 1915, p. 412.

within the railing was an object of worship inside some sort of a shrine. Cunningham always describes this figure as 'rayed circle of sun on Buddhist basement railing'; but there is no reason for describing the basement railing as Buddhist, and it may be more correctly described as a Brāhmaṇical one. M. Foucher discerned 'in the infantile simplicity' of these and other emblems on the early indigenous coins of India, 'the style of the most ancient manifestations of the religious art of the Buddhists'.[1] But all these symbols are certainly not ascribable to Buddhism. Originally they must have been emblems representing the sun, but later they were utilised by the Buddhists and other sectaries for their own purposes. On some very early types of punch-marked coins, small elongated hexagonal bars of silver, appear several marks which look like crude representations of a lotus. On other ancient coins too, some symbols are found, which seem to be the variant forms of a lotus flower.[2] Lotus is intimately associated with the sun from the earliest times; it is mentioned in the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans. The part played by the flower in the myth and rituals of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism is important, this importance being solely due to its solar association. The association of lotus with the sun was due to the fact that the opening and closing of the flower timed with the rising and setting of the sun. The Purāṇas emphasise the connection, and enjoin the execution in art of a twelve-petalled lotus, on different petals of which figures of the different aspects of the sun-god are to be placed with the god Bhāskara on the central pericarp ('karṇikā'). Hemādri quotes from the various Purāṇas like the 'Bhāgavata', 'Skanda' and 'Matsya' the respective passages dealing with 'Divākara Vratam', 'Āsāditya Vratam' and 'Sūryanakta Vratam'; he also quotes the passage about 'Sūrya Vrata' from 'Saura Dharma': 'Upalipya śucau deśe Sūryaṃ tatra samarcayet. Saṃlikhet tatra padmantu dvādaśāraṃ sakarṇikam'.[3] The lotus flower symbolising the sun as also the idea of superhuman and divine birth connected with the sun

1. A. Foucher, 'The Beginnings of Buddhist Art'. p. 14.
2. J. Allan, 'Coins of Ancient India'; cf. some indigenous coins of Taxila.
3. Hemādri, 'Caturvargacintāmaṇi', Vratakhaṇḍa, pp. 528, 535, 539, 553.

from very remote times came to hold such a unique position in Indian art of all ages and all creeds, that the later iconographic texts sometimes supply us with details about the correct mode of its representation in art.[1] Thus, in Indian art the sun-god was represented by various symbols, such as spoked wheel, rayed disc, lotus flower in various shapes, etc. When he came to be represented anthropomorphically, the wheel and lotus were not left out; the wheel became one of the principal emblems of Viṣṇu, an Āditya, and lotus flowers were placed in both the hands of the images of Sūrya. Moreover, the wheel and the lotus figure as so many solar emblems independently on numerous coins, seals, clay tablets and copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period and afterwards.[2]

Sūrya is not depicted in human form in early Indian art till a comparatively late period. The earliest of the extant monuments of;India generally belong to the age of Aśoka. Most of the monuments of the Maurya and Suṅga periods are connected with Buddhism; but figures of Brāhmaṇical deities who are given a subordinate position can be occasionally recognised on these old architectural remains. The sun-god figures rarely in these bas-reliefs. One of the earliest figures of Sūrya is found in high relief on an upright of the old stone railing ('prācīna śilā-prākāra') at Bodh Gaya. The god is seen riding on a four-horsed one-wheel ('ekacakra') chariot, with the reins in his hand, attended on either side by a female figure shooting arrows, personifying the dawn driving away darkness; the demons of darkness appear to be personified by one male bust on each side of the relief with one of its hands raised in supplication. There is a big elliptical disc behind the central figure in the chariot, which probably represents the halo or nimbus of the god; over it appears a spread umbrella ('chatra') which emphasises the Buddhist idea of divinity.[3] Cunningham suggested that 'the four horses and the general execution resemble to a great extent the Greek representation of Helios, the sun-god',

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', BK. III, ch. 45, V. 1-8.
2. J. N. Banerjea, 'The Development of Hindu Iconography', p. 214-16.
3. B. M. Barua suggests that the central figure in the relief stands for the god's charioteer (Aruṇa), Sūrya himself being represented not by a human figure but by a rayed disc'; 'Gaya and Buddha Gaya', Vol. II, p. 89.

but he emphasised the Indian character of the chariot ('ASR', Vol. III, p, 97). The resemblance to the Greek representation of Helios is, however, superficial; a comparison in this connection between the above-named Bodh-Gaya relief and the Helios driving a quadriga appearing as the reverse device of the dated coin of the Bactro-Greek ruler Plato can be profitably suggested. The representation of the divinity in the Bodh Gaya relief, however, is purely Indian in character. The Ṛgvedic description of Sūrya, which is apparently the background of the human representation of this deity in Indian art, pointedly refers to the fact of his riding a chariot drawn by one (Etasa), three, four or seven horses. The arrow-shooting female figures are known in the iconographic texts as Uṣā and Pratyūṣā. On the left side of the Buddhist cave at Bhaja, there is an elaborate relief which probably represents Sūrya and his retinue. A royal person, in the company of two women, one holding a 'chatra' and the other a 'chaurie', rides on a chariot drawn by four horses. He is escorted by figures on horseback, both male and female, one of which is provided with some kind of stirrups (this appears to be the earliest recorded use of stirrups in the world). Beneath the wheel of the chariot are grossly proportioned nude demons seeming to float downwards in the air. This relief was originally identified by Burgess as depicting Sūrya driving through the sky in the company of his consorts and other attendants and destroying the evil powers of darkness.[1] E. H. Johnston, on the other hand, suggests that the scene illustrates the story of the war between Śakra and the Asuras as told in the 'Saṃyuttanikāya'. ('J.I,S.O.A', VII, 1939, 1-7, pls. i & ii). But if we compare the above relief with the one engraved on a partially preserved shaft of a column ('dhvaja') which was found at Lala Bhagat, in the Dehrapur tehsil, Cawnpur, U.P., we can endorse the previous view. The red sandstone octagonal pillar, 6′ 3″ in height, has on one of its sides elaborate carvings in low relief, one of which has many features common to the Bodh Gaya and Bhaja sculptures just discussed. It shows a royal figure riding on an one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses arranged in the manner of the Sūrya relief at Bodh Gaya;

1. 'A. S. I.', New Imperial Series, Vol. IV.

an umbrella is held aloft on one side of his head by the female attendant on his left, the one to his right probably holds a chaurie; the hind legs of the horses yoked to the car rest on a grinning head (probably Rāhu typifying here the evil enemy of the sun); just below it are three well-dressed female figures standing at ease over a group of thirteen uncouth nude dwarfs reminding us of the malformed demons of darkness in Bhaja.[1] There seems to be such a family likeness between the Bhaja and Lala Bhagat reliefs on the one hand and the Bodh Gaya Sūrya on the other, that there can be little doubt that the first two depict the sun god in their own way. Prayag Dayal who first brought the Lala Bhagat column to the notice of scholars asked whether the misshapen dwarfs on it might represent the Bālakhilyas "who according to the 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' are of infinitely short stature and offer praises in honour of the sun god". But on its analogy to the Bhaja relief they can far better be identified as demons of darkness. A dancing peacock with its plums spread out, an elephant disporting among lotuses, which are carved below them might typify the joy and pleasure pervading the animal world at the advent of dawn. In the lowest part of the column stands Gaja-Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune bathed by two elephants) with a cockcrested pilaster on her right side; the association of the goddess Śrī with a cock is interesting, for the bird is usually an emblem of Skanda or Kumāra. Cock is also intimately connected with dawn, and thus its appearance on a relief where the figure of Sūrya is carved is appropriate. A fragmentary inscription on a part of the pillar reads 'Kumāra vara....' in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century A. D., and it is presumable that the pillar was a 'dhvaja' (votive column) in front of the Brāhmaṇical war-god Skanda-Kumāra.[2] The figure of Sūrya with its other adjuncts on the votive column of Kārttikeya is not difficult to understand; though the composite god Skanda-Kārttikeya is chiefly associated with Śiva from the mythological point of view, he has many clear solar features in his composition.

1. 'Journal of the U.P. Historical Society' Vol. IV, pl. II, 1930, pp. 38-41, pls. I, III & IV; A.S.I.A.R, 1929-30, pp. 132-33, pl. XXXI.

2. J. N Banerjea, 'D. H. I', pp. 116-17; a red sandstone cock was found very near the pillar, and it must have been its 'capital piece.'

The Bhaja and Bodh Gaya reliefs of Sūrya are dated in the first century B.C., while the Lala Bhagat carving dates in the 2nd century A.D. Another very early figure of the god depicting him in the old usual way occurs on the torus frieze of the small cave, Anantagumphā, among the Khaṇḍagiri group of caves near Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa. The inner section of the cave is divided into four compartments by four 'toraṇas', the first two being broken. It will be interesting to describe at some length the carvings on the third and fourth toruses for comparison with the Lala Bhagat reliefs. The third has a frieze of alternate beasts and men, its entabalature also containing in the centre a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. The next contains a similar frieze of men and animals; on the right corner of the part of the entabalature is a demon in the flying pose with two objects in his hands (a vase and a banner); just above his head there is a crescent moon and stars. In the centre the sun god is shown riding on a wheeled chariot drawn by four horses; the god is attended by a female figure on either side holding a chaurie and an umbrella; Sūrya holds a lotus in his right hand, the left securing the reins. The left part of the relief is broken; it must have contained another pot-bellied demon similar to the one in the right. On the top left corner of the broken 'toraṇa' near the one just described is an elephant with a bunch of lotus in its trunk turning towards a hybrid figure (an elephant-headed human figure ?) seated in an awkward pose. In comparing the Anantagumphā carvings with the Lala Bhagat ones, we find some common features. The god with his attendants bearing a 'chaurie' and the demons flying through the sky are common to both (the Bhaja relief also contains these elements); the former also shows the goddess Śrī and the disporting elephant, necessarily arranged differently from the Lala Bhagat mode. Most of the Khaṇḍagiri caves are associated with Jaina creed, Anantagumphā being one of the earliest in point of date (c. 1st century A. D., if not a little earlier). These early reliefs of Sūrya hailing from different parts of India, west, north and east, seem to prove that the iconographic motif of Sūrya with its adjuncts was more or less similar everywhere, and was utilised by devotees irrespective of creeds. This motif was shortly

to be remodelled in northern and western India due to certain adventitious elements that were introduced into the Indian sun-cult. By that time, the cult had taken a novel form—it was no mere adjunct to other creeds of greater importance, and the principal cult-icon was modelled partially on a foreign form though indigenous elements in it were also prominent.

In tracing the evolution of the new and orientated cult-icon, it will be necessary to refer to a few art motifs, some going back to the pre-Christian period, but most belonging to the first two or three centuries of the Christian era ; they belong to the intermediate stages in this process of evolution. A few among them do not represent the sun god, but from the point of view of their types, they have some features in common with the developed sun images of northern India. One of the uprights in the partly preserved railing of the 'stūpa' of Bharut, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, contains a human figure in high relief, whose dress and other features are very peculiar. Cunningham who took it to be a representation of a soldier in the service of the Mauryan kings, says "the bare-headed nearly life-size figure has short curly hair bound with a broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end ; it is clad in a long tunic with ample sleeves reaching nearly to the mid thigh, tied in two places by cords at the throat and across the belly ; the loins and thighs are covered with a 'dhoti' reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds ; the legs are inside long boots with encircling tassels at the top ; it holds in the right hand placed on the breast a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it and its left hand clasps in the middle a huge broad sword sheathed in a scabbard suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt ; the face of the scabbard is ornamented with the Buddhist symbol of 'triratna' "[1]. R. P. Chanda on account of the boots was inclined to identify the figure as the 'asura' Vipracitti who is described in the 'Samyutta Nikāya' as

1. Cunningham, 'Stūpa of Bharhut', pp. 32-33.

wearing boots ('upāhana, ganaṅgana-upāhana') and moving about armed with a dagger ('khagga'). But Barua rightly says that "these by themselves are not sufficient to justify the identification". He himself would identify it as the figure of the Iranian sun god. Referring to the inscription engraved on the top of the pillar, 'bhadaṃta mahilasa thabho dānam' ('the gift of the monk Mahila'), he took 'mahila' to be a variant of 'Mihila' or 'Mihira', one of the names of the sun god, and suggested that "the figure itself has the most intimate connexion with the name or epithet of the donor of the pillar gift"; he thought that the bunch of grapes and the northern dress ('udīcyaveśa') of the figure definitely supported his identification[1]. The type undoubtedly stands for a foreign personality, as the peculiar dress and the vine leaf and fruit testify; all these also connect it with the extreme north-western border land of India. In the above different attempts at its identification, no importance was given by any scholar to 'the broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end'; it appears to be nothing but the Indian adaptation of the 'diadema' which is the unmistakable sign of Greek royalty. The Bharut artist probably intended to reproduce in his own way some Indo-Greek king of the extreme north and north-west, one of whom at least (Menander) was a Buddhist convert. The form was undoubtedly an idealised one, reminding us of one of the two figures riding on horned lions carved on the third architrave of the east gateway of the Great Stūpa of Sanchi. The Sanchi figure, shown only up to waist, is similarly dressed, holds the reins in the right and the bunch of grapes with a vine leaf in the left, and its head is encircled by a similar diadema. Grünwedel remarks about it, "although the framework of the figure is in the Perso-Indian style, at any rate this and the corresponding equestrian figures represent foreign nations, regarded as living far away in the North-west"[2]. Reference may be made in this connection to two other such foreign types in one of the Udayagiri caves near Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa. On the left wing of the upper floor of the Rani-Nur cave are two figures, the left one of which is stout and pot-bellied with a sword

1. B. M. Barua, 'Barhut', Bk. II, pp.68, 70, Bk. III, p. 86.
2. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art', p, 34, fig. 10.

hanging down from the belt ; its right hand is placed on the breast and the left hangs down by the side ; its head seems to be diademed, the ends of which swing behind. The figure on the right is heavily draped and booted, its right hand rests on hip ('kaṭihasta') and its left with some indistinct object in it is placed on his breast ; a sword hangs down from the waist and a heavy cloak covers its body up to the knees ; the locks of hair are well-arranged and its ears seem to be adorned with ornaments. None of these figures of a very early date found among the different architectural remains of Central and Eastern India represents Sūrya, neither do all of them stand for Indo-Greek kings ; but they are without doubt the representations of alien nationals some of whom were pre-eminently responsible for reshaping the Sun-cult of ancient India.

The initial stages in the cult re-orientation can be ascertained with the help of some sculptures of the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, that hail from Gandhāra and Mathura. A small figure of Sūrya in black slate from one of the Gandhāra sites shows the god seated at ease on a chariot drawn by four horses ; it being in an indifferent state of preservation, the objects in its hands and its other features are not clear. But in conformity to the earlier indigenous tradition the solar chariot is drawn by four horses, and the arrow-shooting figures are present. The deity is clad in heavy tunic and is wearing boots ; one or two bearded Atlantes cower beneath the chariot-wheel, this feature being reminiscent of the demons of darkness referred to above. The Gandhāra artists seem to have been well conversant with the indigenous iconic motifs, but they undoubtedly remodelled them according to their own convention and according to the needs of the transformed cult. The sculptors of Mathura were fashioning near about the same time numbers of images of a peculiar character, some of which can undoubtedly be identified as those of the sun god. The Mathura Museum contains several red sandstone sculptures of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period which, though differing from one another in some details, form a class by themselves. They are seated figures, some shown riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, while in the case of others the chariot with the horses is either completely absent, or faint traces of it and

two of the horses are discernible. They are usually dressed in the northern fashion ('udīcyaveśa') and hold in their two hands either a lotus and a sword, or a mace and a sword, or other indistinct objects. These images are described by modern scholars as so many images of Sūrya or statues of some Kuṣāṇa kings according to the nature of their attributes. It has already been suggested by me in my chapter on Viṣṇu (III) that a few of these sculptures may stand for Sāmba, one of the five Vṛṣṇivīras. Others may represent secular chiefs of foreign nationality, especially those that do not show the chariot, and the horses, or the lotus flower in the hand ; this is the character of the Mathura Museum exhibit which shows a royal personage dressed in tunic and boots with a mace and a shaft or a sword in its two hands seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar (Coomaraswamy, 'HIIA', p. 68, fig. 64). But there is no doubt that many of these reliefs depict the Sun god in which the Iranian features are predominant. One cf the earliest such figures recovered from the Saptasamudri well three-fourth of a mile south of Mathura (exhibit no. D. 46 in the local museum) shows the god sitting on his haunches inside a one-wheel car drawn by four horses, holding indistinct objects in his two hands (probably a lotus in the right and a short sword in the left) ; he is dressed in heavy tunic, and though the legs are not visible there are traces of top-boots. The solar character is further emphasised by the sun-disc or nimbus behind him and the short wings attached to the shoulders. He has long locks and he wears a a torque round his neck. Vogel says about it, "It is deserving of note that his shoulders are provided with small wings, as we find in Garuḍa figures" ('M.M. Catalogue', p. 105 ; Coomaraswamy, 'op. cit.' p. 68, fig. 103). Wings which distinctly emphasise the Ṛgvedic bird concept about the sun, are seldom found attached to the figures of Sūrya proper, and we know of no other similar sculpture in which they are present. The above relief thus clearly emphasises how at such an early date, the indigenous and foreign elements are blended together in the evolution of the cult-icon. Exhibit no. 894 in the same Museum hailing from Palikhera and belonging to the first century A.D. shows the Sun god holding a dagger and wearing boots, long

coat and trousers, but without any wings. Such motifs persisted up to the early Gupta period in the Mathura region as is shown by the Sūrya figure in the Mathura Museum (it is without any number); it has a flaming halo, holds a staff or sword by its top in its left hand and a lotus bud with stalk in its right. The much damaged torso and head of an image of probably the sun god in the collection of the same Museum (D. I.) need be discussed in this connection. Vogel described the image in this way, "Torso and head (ht. 1′ 6½″) of an image of Sūrya (?), the sun god. Remnants of circular halo. Face considerably injured. He wears a helmet, fastened under the chin by means of a strap. Long curly locks falling down on both shoulders. Thin moustache (?). He is clad in a cuirass over which appears a very elaborate necklace. A scarf thrown over both the shoulders is fastened in a knot on the left breast. A double-cord girdle is tied round the loins and fastened in front' ('op. cit.', p. 94). Agrawala observes about the same image, "Another example which reflects the intercourse with the Pārasīkas (Persians) is an important bust which wears frizzled bushy hair, a bearded chin, knotted scarf and cuirass. The bearded head reminds us of the description of the Persians given by Kālidāsa in his 'Raghuvaṃśa' (IV. ϵ3) where the bearded heads of the Persians are compared to the bee-hives covered with black laces. Another marked Sassanian feature on this image is the 'sun and moon' symbol on the 'kulāh' cap." The other example also referred to by Agrawala in this connection is the exhibit no. 513, representing a unique figure of Piṅgala, one of the two principal attendants of Sūrya, "holding a pen in right hand and an inkpot in the left and clad in 'kulāh' cap and Iranian coat".[1]

The extant Sūrya images of the early Gupta period are not very many in number ; they, however, seldom fail to show most of the alien features already mentioned. But the gradual idealisation of these traits and preponderance of Indian elements had already begun from the late Gupta period. A description of a few of the early and late Gupta and early and late mediaeval images of the god hailing from northern and eastern

1. V. S. Agrawala, 'Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra', p. 52.

India will show that the earlier the sculpture, the more prominent and less idealised are the foreign traits, the Indian elements being comparatively few. The Niyamatpur and Kumarpur (Rajshahi, Bengal), as well as Bhumara (Nagod State. Central India), reliefs bear a remarkable affinity to the Kushan Sūrya figures of Mathura as regards their dress and general characteristics; they are, however, all shown standing and the chariot is absent. The Niyamatpur sculpture is made out of coarse grained sandstone; the god stands on a low pedestal between two dwarf attendants (Daṇḍī and Piṅgala) wearing a flat cap with a lotus halo, and a long coat gathered to the waist by a belt; he holds a pair of lotus blossoms. The attendants seem to wear 'kulāh' caps, and are dressed like the principal figure; the right one holds a disproportionately long staff in his right hand, while the left, a pen and an inkpot (a little indistinct in the relief).[1] The Bhumara Sūrya carved inside a 'caitya'-window panel (many such panels with different Brāhmaṇical divinities have been found there, they must have served as architectural decoration of the main temple of Śiva at Bhumara) has been described by R. D. Banerjee thus: 'The god is standing and has two hands. There is a plain halo behind his head and he wears a tall cylindrical head-dress. In his left hand he holds a lotus, while his right hand is damaged (it must also have held a lotus). The god wears long boots of soft leather and long coat, tied at the waist with a sash. He is attended by two men who wear peculiarly long Scythian coats tied with a belt, and long boots. They also wear tall pointed conical caps like the Scythians. The figure on the right holds a lance or spear in his right hand while that on the left holds a lotus. The horses of the sungod, either seven or four in number, are absent.'[2] The late Gupta and early mediaeval Sūrya images of northern India differ from the above in this respect that they are far more elaborate in their presentation than the above. In the icons of the mediaeval times, a definite tendency to the grouping and arrangement of the attendants of the god is discernible.

1. S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal,' p. 12, pl. 1. The boots on the legs of the three figures are not distinct.

2. 'M.A.S.I.,' No, 16 ('The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara'), p, 13, pl, XIVa.

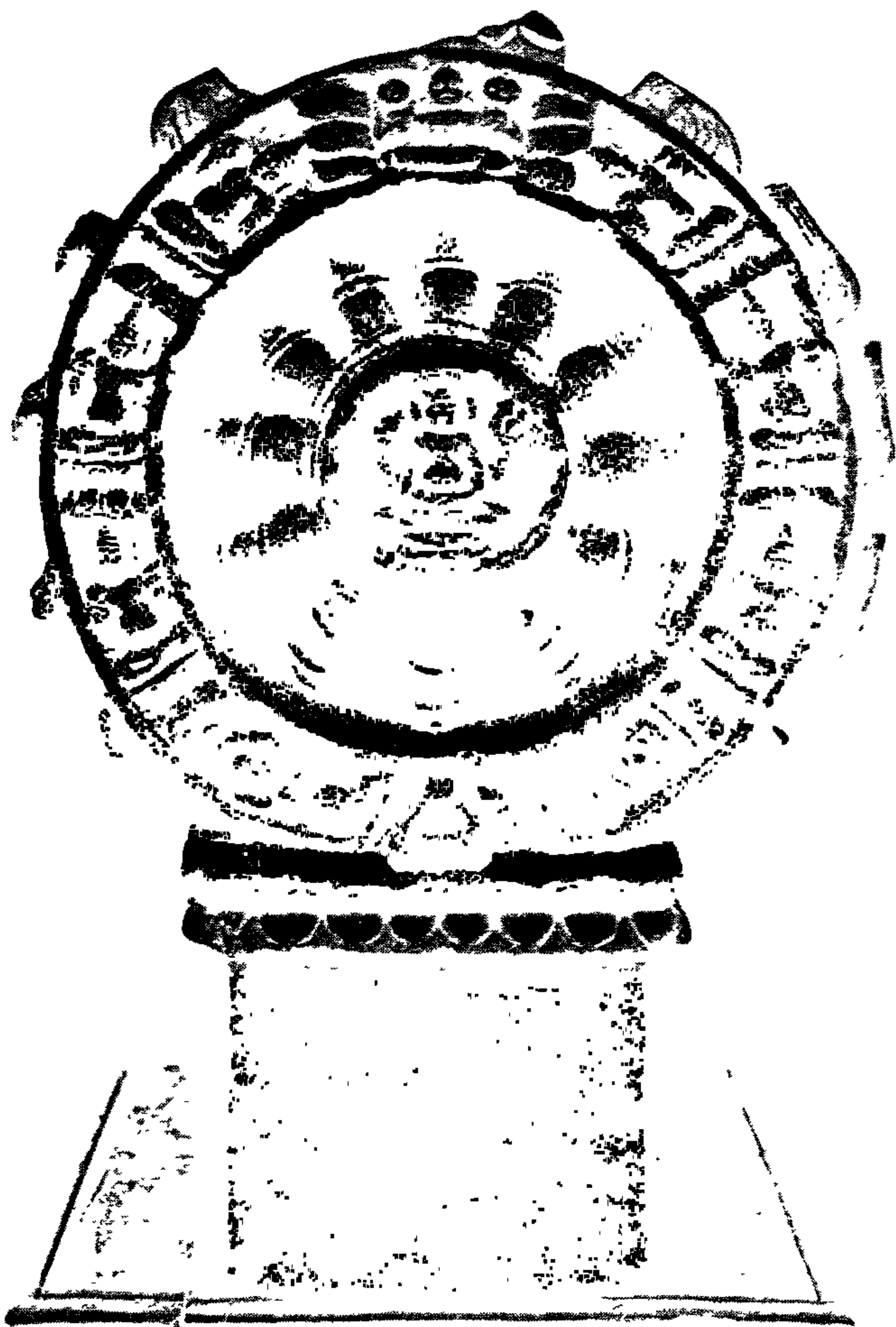
The essential features of the common variety of North Indian Sun icons are the following: the seven-horsed and one-wheeled chariot of Sūrya with Aruṇa as the driver; the sun-god with his legs covered, wearing bodice and jewels, with his two hands carrying two full-blown lotuses (or rarely two bunches of lotuses), his head adorned with 'kirīṭa-makuṭa' (this sort of Indian crown is already found on the head of Bhumara Sūrya); his two male attendants, one on each side, holding pen and ink-pot and sword, two female figures on either side in the 'ālīḍha' and 'pratyālīḍha' poses shooting arrows, and two, three or four more female attendants (usually described as his consorts, Rājñī, Savarṇā, Chāyā and Nikṣubhā); in some mediaeval sun-reliefs of eastern India, as will be shown afterwards, Mahāśvetā or Pṛthvī is shown in front of the main figure just above Aruṇa. The figure of sun, and sometimes the figures of the male and rarely even of the female companions too, have their feet encased in some sort of leggings. Occasionally the legs of Sūrya and his principal attendants are left uncarved and shown as inserted in the pedestal or what stands for the chariot.[1] Another feature of this sun image is the peculiar girdle or waist zone already alluded to. This is described in the iconographic texts as 'avyaṅga' and has been rightly identified by scholars with the Avestan 'aiwiyaonghana', the sacred woollen thread girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear round the waist. The boots, the close-fitting bodice-like garment and the waist-zone are the most prominent features of this type of Sūrya image, and their bearing on its evolution will have to be duly considered.

One of the earliest descriptions of the sun-icons is found in the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' (ch. 57,) of Varāhamihirā, a representative writer of the sixth century A. D. It reads : 'Nāsālalāṭajaṅghorugaṇḍavakṣāṃsi connatāni Raveḥ ı Kuryādudīcyaveśaṃ gūḍhaṃ pādāduro yāvat ı Vibhrāṇassvakararuhe pāṇibhyāṃ paṅkaje mukuṭadhārī ı Kuṇḍala-bhūṣitavadanaḥ pralambahārī viyadga (viyaṅga) vṛtaḥ ı Kamalodara-dyutimukhaḥ kañcukaguptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ ı Ratnojjvalapra-

1. Cf. the eastern Indian sun images in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi, the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, etc. Some Ellora Sūrya images show the legs of the god and his attendants inside the chariot (T.A.G. Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', Vol. I, part II, p. 313, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 2,).

bhāmaṇḍalaśca karttuḥ śubhakaro'rkaḥ'. It can be freely translated into English as follows: "The nose, forehead, the shins and the thighs, the cheek and the chest of the sun (image) are raised. He is dressed in the fashion of a northerner, (the body) from the feet up to the breast is hidden (covered). He wears a crown and holds two lotus flowers by their stalks along his arms. His face is adorned with earrings, he wears a long necklace and a 'viyadga' (or 'rasanā' which is another Indian name of the Zoroastrian sacred girdle). His face possesses the lustre of the inside of a lotus and is lit up with a pleasant smile ; it is covered with a cheek plate.[1] He has a halo shining with the brightness of jewels. Such (an image of) the sun brings good to its maker". This text does not say anything about the chariot, the horses and other attendants of the god whose image only is described in detail. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' which appears to have been composed somewhat later does not only contain the details in full, but goes on to explain the symbolism underlying many of them. The text lays down, "The sun should be made with an auspicious moustache ; he should be of the bright red colour of vermillion. He should wear the dress of a northerner, should be of good form and adorned with all ornaments. Of great effulgence and endowed with four arms, he should be covered by a coat of mail ; should wear a waist girdle ('rasanā') known as 'Yāvīyāṅga' (avyaṅga'). In his right and left hands are to be shown sun-beams (as reins), and on his upper part should be displayed rows of auspicious garlands made of different kinds of flowers. Daṇḍī bearing a beautiful form is to be placed in his left, and Piṅgala of a deep tawny colour in his right. They should be dressed like a northerner and two of the hands of sun god should be placed on their heads. Piṅgala of dark tawny colour is to be made with a (palm) leaf and a pen in his hands, and the other (attending) god (Daṇḍī) should hold a shield and a trident. A lion standard is to be placed on the left of Sūrya, and his four sons, Revanta, Yama and two Manus, are to be shown

1. 'Kañcuka' means armour, coat of mail ; but in this context it would mean a cheek plate as is clearly shown in the damaged torso of the sun-god in the Mathura Museum (D. I.) already described.





by his sides. Or Ravi, the king of the planets, should be surrounded by planets. Further, he is to have on his both sides his wives, Rājñī, Rikṣubha (Nikṣubhā in the 'Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra'), Chāyā and the goddess Suvarccasā. The god with Aruṇa as his charioteer, should be shown seated inside an one-wheeled hexagonal chariot (drawn by) seven horses.[1] This elaborate description of the Sūrya image in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' can be compared with more or less similar ones in such north Indian texts as 'Matsya Purāṇa', 'Agni Purāṇa', 'Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra', etc., on the one hand, and those in such south Indian works as 'Suprabhedāgama', 'Śilparatna', etc., on the other. The former group including the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' passage quoted above almost invariably write about the covering of the body and the legs of the god, and some among them refer also to his waist girdle ('avyaṅga') ; a few of them also contain the name of Nikṣubhā as one of his four wives. The South Indian Āgamas and the Śilpaśāstras, on the other hand, usually omit reference to such details, describing in general the images of Sūrya and the Dvādaśādityas. The 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama' account of the figures of the sun god and the twelve Ādityas is an exception, for it refers not only to the one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses and driven by the charioteer ('ekacakrasasaptāśvasasārathimahāratham') but it also refers to the covering of the body ('kañcukāñcita-vigraham') and probably of the legs too ('pādau sakaṭakau'). This text also enjoins the placing of the twelve Ādityas in the Sūryamaṇḍala, who are named, Vaikartana, Vivasvān, Mārtāṇḍa, Bhāskara, Ravi, Lokaprakāśaka,

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Bk. III, ch. 67, verses 2-11. The whole passage with slight changes here and there are incorporated in Rao's, 'Pratimālakshaṇāni' ('Elements etc.', Vol, I, part I, App, c., pp. 87-88) ; but Rao says that it occurs in the 'Matsya Purāṇa'. The 'Matsya Purāṇa' verses, however, as quoted by R. D. Banerjee are different (cf. 'E.I.S.M.S.', p. 117 ; 'Matsya Purāṇa', ch. 261, verses 1-8); The Venkatesvara press edition of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' contains the above passage, but there are several errors in it. The text explains the symbolism underlying the composition in this manner : "The seven horses of the solar chariot are the seven Vedic metres, 'Gāyatrī,' Uṣṇik,' 'Anuṣṭup,' 'Bṛhatī,' 'Paṅkti,' 'Triṣṭup' and 'Jagatī ; his rays as the reins in his hands sustain the whole world ; the lion on the standard by his side is none other than Dharma himself ; the god supports the entire universe resting on his waist-girdle. His four wives Rāgñī, Ri(Ni)-kṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarccasā are the earth, the heavens, the shadow and lustre ('chāyā' and 'prabhā') respectively ; as he is the source of all light the glorious god is of red colour ; his body is hidden (covered – 'gūḍhagātra') because he is the possessor of unbearable effulgence (verses 12-16).

Lokasākṣī, Trivikrama, Āditya, Sūrya, Aṃśumān and Divākara; they are all two-armed, two-eyed, standing on lotus and holding lotuses in their hands, wearing red garment, sacred thread and ornaments.[1] The north Indian iconographic texts which do not expressly mention such foreign traits as the 'avyaṅga' appear to be later in point of date than the others which do so. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' and the 'Matsya Purāṇa' try to explain away the covering of the body and the legs of the Sūrya image. One passage in the latter (261, 4) deserves attention in this connection; it is 'Colakacchannavapuṣaṃ kvaciccitreṣu darśayet । Vastrayugmasamopetaṃ caraṇau tejasāvṛtau' ('in certain sculptures, the body should be shown as covered by garments, a pair of cloth, and the feet should appear as hidden by the effulgence of the god'). This observation of the author of the Purāṇa distinctly proves that the alien traits of the sun icon were not universal; they were absent in the south of India, and mediaeval Sūrya reliefs with the legs uncovered are not unknown.

The images with the foreign features are undoubtedly connected with that form of sun worship, Mihira or Mithra cult, which was introduced here from outside from eastern Iran. It has been accepted almost unanimously by scholars that the main branch of the Śaka immigrants entered into India indirectly through the Bolan pass, after their long stay in eastern Iran, and it is almost certain that they were responsible for bringing this cult with them. The 'Bhaviṣya', the 'Śāmba', the 'Vāräha' and other Purāṇas refer to myths about its mode of introduction in this country from Śakadvīpa (Sakastan or Seistan in eastern Iran). The main story underlying them is as follows: 'Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, was afflicted by leprosy due to a curse of his father, and was advised to worship the sun, the curer of all maladies, for freeing him from the clutches of the fell disease. He worshipped the sun in the usual Indian way,

1. For the different texts, cf. Rao, ('op. cit', Vol. I, App.c.pp. 83-91). As the 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama', probably a south Indian work, seems to have been influenced by north Indian tradition, the 'Rūpamaṇḍana', a comparatively late north-Indian compilation, appears to have collected much of its matter from the south-Indian works; in its account there is no explicit reference to the north-Indian details. The 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama' list of the names of the Dvādaśādityas widely differs from the usual list already referred to.

but he was not cured. Then he was advised to build a temple of the god on the banks of the Candrabhāgā (the Chenub in the Punjab) and have an image of the sungod installed there. No local Brāhmaṇa agreeing to undertake the task of the installation and regular worship of the god, Śāmba was advised by Gauramukha, the chief priest of Kaṃsa's father Ugrasena, to bring the Magas from Śakadvīpa. Śāmba acted up to this advice, brought some Maga Brāhmaṇas from Śakadvīpa, had the image installed and worshipped by these priests according to their own mode and was completely cured of leprosy. Some of the Purāṇas narrate the history of the Magas. The Magas were descended from Jaraśasta, the son of Nikṣubhā, a daughter of one Sujihva, a Brāhmṇa of the Mihira Gotra, with whom the sun god fell in love. The Magas were thus the remote descendants of the union of the sun god and Nikṣubhā. They wore an waist girdle called 'avyaṅga', and worshipped the sun in a special manner. It has long been proved that they were the same as the Magi, the priestly class of ancient Iran, and Jaraśabda, or Jaraśasta, their reputed ancestor, was none other than Zoroaster (Sans. Zarathustra), the great Iranian prophet of Avesta. Alberuni says that the ancient Persian priests came to India and became known as Magas. That this Arab encyclopaedist was only recording a very old tradition is fully proved by the statement of Varāhamihira, that the images of the sun god were only to be installed by the Magas according to their own rites (Bṛhatsaṃhitā', II, Ch. 60,—'magāṃśca savituḥ'). The tradition about the sun temple at Candrabhāgā said to have been built by Śāmba must have been old, and the temple must have existed as early as the 7th century A. D. and even in much earlier times. Hiuen Tsang in his description of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Mūlasthānapura, modern Multan on the Chenab) says, 'among the temples of other religions (other than Buddhism) was a magnificent one to Sūrya-deva ; the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances, it had marvellous powers and its merits had extended far ; there was a constant succession of females performing music, lights were kept burning all night, and, incense and flowers were continually offered'. The temple and the image are also described by some Arab geographers.

It has been tacitly assumed by scholars that the peculiar type of the Sūrya image, which was worshipped all over northern India from the Gupta period onwards and even earlier, was derived from an Iranian prototype. This view is partially correct, but the Iranian prototype itself was derived from some other source, The early Iranians themselves were not in the habit of worshipping images, and our search for an image of Mithra would be in vain, at least before Mithraism itself was to a great extent Hellenised. Mithra in old Persian monuments was represented by a symbol, as Sūrya used to be in the Vedic period and even afterwards. Thus, for example, in one of the friezes on one of the four 'dakhmas' (sepulchres) of Darius close to the site of ancient Istakhr near Naqsh-i-Rustam, 'between the king and fire-altar appears Ahura Mazda hovering above, and a ball which is certainly meant to represent the sun or Mithra'. According to the writer of the article 'Mithraism' in the 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' (Vol. 8, p. 753), 'the busts of Sun and Moon and the circle of the Zodiac are standing features in the Mithraic monuments'. But these busts of the sun were not really the prototypes of the usually accepted form of the cult picture in the remodelled Sūrya worship of northern India. The busts themselves seem to have made their appearance after Mithraism was very throughly Hellenised. The dynasts of the near east who divided amongst themselves the eastern half of Alexander's empire were devout worshippers of Mithra. It was undoubtedly in the courts of those kings that the Hellenisation of Mithraism was done, which brought about its further diffusion. The fully anthropomorphic representation of Mithra in ancient art was due to this factor, and the type of Apollo-Helios, the Greek solar divinities, served as the original of this Mithra, as the Greeks saw in him a divinity very nearly resembling their own solar deities. That the Hellenes of Asia Minor identified this form of Mithra with their own solar and planetary gods is shown by a monument set up by Antiochus I of Commagne (69-38 B.C.) ; in the 'enormous cairn of the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh' are five sculptures, one of which has the inscription, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. On another relief Antiochus is represented as grasping the right hand of Mithra

'who is represented in Persian dress with the radiate nimbus'. Now, we find the representation of Mithra-Mihira in the extreme north west border of India and in northern India on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Described as MIIPO (there are various other spellings) the god is shown as wearing a sort of boot, with his extended right hand holding something (? a fillet or a lotus), his left hand clasping a sword hanging down from his waist ; his body is heavily draped and his head, encircled by a radiate nimbus. On the reverse of several coins of Kanishka and Huvishka we see figures exactly similar to the one described above, but the inscription by its side in Greek is HELIOS. A comparison of these MIIPO or Helios devices of the Kushan coins should be made with the figures of Helios and Apollo on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings Telephus and Apollodotus II. The obverse and reverse devices of a rare silver coin of the former, a late Indo-Greek dynast in the extreme north-west of India, have been described by Gardner in this way ('B. M. C.', P. 171, Pl. XXXII, 7) : 'Obverse—Giant (Skythes ?), his body ending in three serpents ; holds in each hand, hammer ?. Reverse—Helios radiate facing clad in tunic and chlamys (a kind of cloak), holds long sceptre ; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath or horned' (it is the crescent on the top of the head). The figures on the reverse undoubtedly represent the deities sun and moon and in a distant way were the prototypes of MAO (Zoroastrian moon god) and MIIPO shown together on the reverse side of several gold coins of Huvishka.[1] The sun and moon on the reverse of Telephus' silver coin were for all practical purposes the Iranian sun god Mihira (Mithra) and the moon-god Mao, for in Greek mythology Salene, the moon, is a goddess. But the former must have been derived directly or indirectly from a still earlier representation of the solar divinity, Apollo, as shown on the obverse of some round and square coins of Apollodotus II. Apollo appears there as clad in chlamys and boots (the boots seem also to be present on the legs of Helios on Telephus' coin) holding in his left and right hands either a bow and an arrow, or simply an arrow

1. 'B. M. C.', p. 141, pl. XXVII. 24.

in both (Gardner, 'op. cit.', 38-9, Pl. X, 5-9). There is some difference no doubt between the Mihira figures of the Kushan coins and Apollo on those of Apollodotus II ; in the case of the latter, the attributes differ, the nimbus is absent (but Apollo as he appears on the obverse of Apollodotus I's coins is radiate) and the drapery of the upper part of the body is somewhat dissimilar. But we should make some allowance for the age that intervened between these two types, and the Kushan drapery of the former and the different attributes were later developments.

Thus, it may be suggested with confidence that the Kushan 'Mihira' had for its prototype the Greek Apollo, as figured on some coins of a few of the Indo-Greek kings. We may compare with this the representation of Mithra in the Sassanian art of the subsequent times. Reference may be made here to such figures carved on the reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan. which have almost unanimously been identified by scholars as standing for Mithra.[1] One of the figures has been described thus, "The body is clothed in a tunic-like robe, belted at the waist and richly set off at the back by an embroidered border with tassels. His head is enriched by a halo of rays and his feet resting upon a heavily carved sun-flower, while he raises before him in both hands a long fluted staff. He has a foot-gear which appears to include spurs......The sun flower beneath the feet of the image, an early symbol of sun worship, is a triple flower, and the stem from which it rises is clearly marked".[2] This relief cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the third century A.D., and it illustrates the mode in which Mithra came to be represented in the Iranian art of this period. The Graeco-Roman artists of eastern Europe and western most Asia, on the other hand, laid much importance on the

1. Spiegel, 'Iranian Art', pp. 41-2 ; A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Persia Past and Present', p. 217 and plate.

2. A. V. Williams Jackson, 'op. cit.', pp. 217-18. Spiegel remarks about the other figure : "In the vicinity of the above relief is a panel containing three figures, the middle one is a king wearing a coat of mail, the left, a female figure, pours water from a vessel in her hand. The male figure on the right wears a diadem, a long beard, a mantle fastened over the breast hangs over its shoulders, it offers to the king the coronal circle. I do not doubt that the female figure on the left represents Anahita and figure on the right, Mithra" ('op. cit', p. 43).

legend about Mithra's having slain the Bull, and such monuments came to bear usually the representation of Mithra in the act of slaying the Bull. The most important point to be noted in this connection, however, is that Mithra who was originally represented in early Iranian art by some symbol as in early Indian art came to be depicted in human form after the cult of the Iranian Mithraism came in close contact with the Greeks of Asia Minor and was transformed to a great extent.

Now, should we seek to find in this Kushan Mithra-Mihira, or as a matter of fact in the Hellenistic Apollo, the real proto-type of the booted sun image of the Gupta and the early mediaeval periods in India ? There is certainly some truth in the view that the expansion of image worship in India was to a great extent due to the close contact of her sons with the Hellenistic invaders of the country.[1] This expansion was also brought about by the activities and the exertions of the Śakas and Kushans who came in the wake of the Greeks and were largely influenced by their culture. The alien features of the north Indian Sūrya type undoubtedly show that it owed much for its evolution to the foreigners. But the type itself in its developed stage was no less an outcome of the genius of the indigenous artists of India. The alien elements were so entirely subdued in the comparatively late images of the god, that their non-Indian character was completely forgotten, and their faint traces were accounted for with the help of ingenious stories told by the Indian myth-makers. The artists of the country endowed the image of the god with all sorts of purely Indian ornaments such as, 'kirīṭa mukuṭa', 'keyūra', 'hāra', 'valaya', 'udarabandha', etc. They put two fullblossomed lotus flowers, the Indian emblems of the sun, in its hands ; their conception of Sūrya as riding on a seven-horsed chariot accompanied by Ūṣā, Pratyūṣā and a few other of the attendant divinities, was also purely indigenous. Here is another instance of the Indian genius being responsible for wholly remodelling and giving a new and original character to a motif that was primarily non-Indian in nature up to a certain extent. Thus was the seated Ardochso of the Kushan coins fully transformed into the Indian

1. J. N. Banerjea, 'Development of Hindu Iconography', pp. 256-59.

Lakṣmī ('Kamalāsanā', 'Padmakarā') by the genius of the local artists on the coins of Chandragupta II and others. A very careful consideration of many of the sun images found all over northern India would enable us to lay down the general rule already outlined that the images in which the alien elements are most prominent, are as a class earlier in point of date than those in which they are least noticeable. The Sūrya figures of the extreme south of India, on the other hand, do not show any of these foreign features which were to a great extent overcome prior to their first introduction there. The iconographic texts as has already been shown, also testify to this fact ; these features which are more frequently and explicitly noticed in the texts of the earlier period, came to be ignored or at most figuratively explained away in those of the later period.

The legends that became current about the introduction of this form of sun-worship, with the peculiar type of the cult-picture, have been briefly referred to. But a few details require further elucidation for satisfactorily accounting for the peculiarities of the type. The Indians were not much familiar with the kind of foot-gear which is found worn by Sūrya and some of his companions, and so the writers of the iconographic texts enjoined that the images should be dressed like a northerner ('kuryādudīcyaveśam'). A glance at the effigies of the Kushan monarchs like Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and others on the obverse of their coins or at the extant red sandstone statues of some of these emperors will at once enable us to understand the meaning of the term 'udīcyaveśa'. These alien monarchs were looked upon by the dwellers of the Indian plain as belonging to the northern regions. It is thus quite clear why such other constituents of the imperial Kushan dress as the peculiar boots, the heavy drapery, though Indianised afterwards to a great extent, the sword hanging down from the belt in a particular fashion, are shown on the person of Sūrya. It has been proved that Mihira of the Kushan coins and ultimately Apollo of the coins of a few of the Indo-Greek kings formed the original prototype of the Sūrya image. The 'avyaṅga' is not present on the person of Mihira on the coins ; but it must be borne in mind that the god there is covered from neck downwards with a heavy garment, which in the later Indian sculptures of Sūrya gave place to diaphanous drapery, and

in place of stress being laid on the Persian 'avyaṅga', various sorts of Indian ornaments like 'hāra', 'keyūra', jewelled 'kāñcīdāma' etc. were emphasised. In some of the earlier reliefs like the Bhumara Sūrya, these cannot be distinguished on account of the heaviness of the drapery.

A few other Indian deities are known who as enjoined in the texts are to be depicted wearing a northern dress. Hemādri, while describing the images of Citragupta and Dhanada (Kubera), says that both of them are to be shown as dressed like a northerner, and the latter is also to be endowed with a coat of mail ('kavacī'). Citragupta who should be placed on the right side of Yama is to hold a pen in his right hand and a leaf in his left.[1] Speaking from the iconographic point of view Citragupta is the same as Kuṇḍī or Piṅgala, the right-hand attendant of Sūrya ; mythologically speaking also, there was some association between Sūrya and Yama, the latter being a son of the sungod by his wife Chāyā. The 'udīcyaveśa' of these deities was a little unusual to the image-makers, and the top-boots cn their legs were somewhat unintelligible. The Indian iconographers liked to identify the heavy drapery of these figures with the 'kavaca' or coat of mail which they could comprehend. Varuṇa, one of the Indo-Aryan deities, is endowed with this coat of mail by the Vedic hymnist.[2] The Purāṇic writers utilised the Vedic story about the marriage of Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar, with Vivasvant in their own way, and composed the elaborate legend about Sūrya's marrying Saṃjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarmā's attempt at reducing the unendurable 'tejas' of Sūrya, to explain the peculiar foot gear of the sun image. It is also told in the Purāṇic story that Viśvakarmā

1. 'Caturvargacintāmaṇi', 'Vratakhaṇḍa' (Bibliotheca Indica edition, Vol. II), pp. 145-46.

2. 'Ṛgveda', I. 25, 13—'wearing a golden coat of mail, Varuṇa veils himself in his radiance'.

3. The original story of Saraṇyu's marriage occurs as a "brahmodya' (a sort of a riddle or charade) in the majority of Vedic texts ('R. V.', I. 164 ; 'A. V.', IX. 9 & 10 ; 'Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā', XXIII. 9-12 ; 49-52 ; 61-62 etc.). In brief it appears to be something like this : 'Tvaṣṭar was instituting a marriage pageant for his daughter Saraṇyu ; at this news all the people of this earth came together. Yama's mother (she became so after her marriage). while being married with mighty Vivasvant ; disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman form the mortals ; making a 'savarṇā' ,('a like one', cf. the 'Chāyā' or 'the shadow likeness' of the Purāṇic develop-

put the sun on his lathe ('śāna-yantra') and dimmed his brightness by peeling much of it from the upper part of his body, leaving his legs untouched. Some texts like the 'Matsya Purāṇā' say that his legs were covered by his 'tejas'; their authors strictly enjoin that they are on no account to be shown bare by the sculptor. Any sculptor violating this peremptory injunction will do so at the risk of becoming a leper for seven consecutive births ('saptajanmasu kuṣṭhī syāt'). This story as well as the relevant iconographic texts which notice this peculiar feature of the sun icon show clearly that usually the types of the icons were evolved at first and then rules were laid down in correspondence with the type already arrived at for the future construction of such images. It has already been remarked how gradually this alien feature of the image was forgotten, and the south Indian sculptor had no fear of being attacked with leprosy when he carved the image of the god with his legs bare, long after the booted Sūrya was sculptured for the first time by his brother artists in northern India. The close covering of the early north Indian Sūrya images seems also to have been at the root of the epic account of a physical peculiarity of Karṇa, born of the union of the sun god and Kuntī in her virgin state, and the 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' story about Revanta, a son of Sūrya by Saṃjñā. The 'Mahābhārata' tells us that when Karṇa was born, he had a coat of mail on his body and ear-rings on his ears. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' writes that Revanta was born with sword, shield and armour, mounted on horseback, furnished with arrows and a quiver ('Mbh'., I. iii, 18-19; 'Mārk. Pur'., ch. 71, 24).

Before describing a few mediaeval sculptures of Sūrya of a representative character some general observations need be made about the principal types of such images. Several iconographic texts endow Sūrya with two hands, while others give him four (cf. the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'

ment) they gave her to Vivasvant. Afterwards she bore him the Aśvins who were abandoned by her.' This was undoubtedly the background of the elaborate story of Sūrya, Saṃjñā and Chāyā as narrated by the authors of some of the Purāṇas. Savarnā, another name of Chāyā in the Purāṇas, occurs in the story of Saraṇyu. For the Vedic myth, cf. M. Bloomfield's note on 'The Marriage of Saraṇyu, Tvaṣṭar's daughter' in the 'Journal of the American Oriental Society', Vol. 15, 1893, pp. 172-88

description of Sūrya already quoted). Reliefs of the god with two hands usually shown in a standing posture hail from every part of this country. But his images or those of his different aspects with four hands (and very rarely six) are also not unknown (some of them will be described later); seated figures of the god also, though rare, have been discovered. One of the earliest seated four-armed images of the god is that which was the principal object of worship in the sun temple at Multan traditionally associated with Śāmba. H. Thsang's reference to it has already been quoted, but the Chinese pilgrim does not give us a detailed description of the image itself which is not extant. Some of the Arab geographers, however, supply us with a vivid description of the figure. Abu Ishak al Istakhri who flourished about the middle of the tenth century A. D., writes, "The idol is human in shape and is seated with its legs bent in quadrangular (squat) posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a redskin-like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible........The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed so that only four can be counted". This account does not specifically mention the number of hands, but perhaps the author has confused hands with fingers. Al Idrisi is more to the point, for after giving an almost similar description of the image he says, 'its arms, below the elbow, seem to be four in number'. Idrisi observes further that 'there is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated'.[1] A copy of its bust (only the head, neck and part of the breast) was recognised by some in the reverse device of a king Vāhi-(al Shāhi-) Tigin who probably ruled over Multan about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. or a century later. V, A. Smith describes it in this manner, "Bust of deity facing, wearing crown; head surrounded by flames rising to a point in broad margin, two circles below, and at top and sides crescents enclosing stars, as on coins of Jamasp. Well-engraved Pahlavi legends as read by Thomas: 1. 'Saf tansaf tef'

1. Elliot, 'History of India', Vol. I. (1867), p. 28 and 82. The Arab rulers of Sind utilised to their advantage the great sanctity of the image and its temple to the Hindus; whenever the latter, especially the Gurjara-Pratihāras, seemed to get the upper hand over them, they threatened to break the image and demolish the temple, and their Hindu rivals immediately withdrew.

probably meaning 'Śrī Tansaf deva', the name of the deity, supposed to be the sun-god of Multan...'[1] But the hands of the god are not shown, though close covering of the breast is fully indicated.[2] Other seated images of Sūrya have been noticed by T. A. G. Rao and a few more will be described by me presently.[3] Another mediaeval type depicts the sun-god riding on a horse unaccompanied by any attendants. The 'Agni Purāṇa' (ch. 51) and the 'Śrī Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra' (ch. 28) describes it in similar language-'Athavāśvasamārūḍha kārya ekastu Bhāskaraḥ. In the much damaged sun-temple at Konarak (Orissa), such a Sūrya figure known by the name of Haridaśva appears in the role of a 'Pārśvadevatā' placed on the outside niche of one of the walls of the main shrine. T. A. G. Rao has noted down the principal features which usually differentiate a north-Indian Sūrya from a south Indian one. The latter, as a rule, has its hands raised to the height of the shoulders which hold only half-blossomed lotuses; it shows an 'udarabandha', but its legs and feet are always left bare. Its north-Indian counter-part, on the other hand, has its hands usually stretched to the level of its hips or elbows, and the hands hold full-blown lotuses by their stalks, the flowers themselves opening out on either side of the neck; its feet and legs are covered by foot gear resembling boots and socks. In place of the 'stomach-band' ('udarabandha') it wears a thin cloth or a sort of coat of mail on its body. The south Indian type occasionally shows the seven horses with Aruṇa, the driver of the chariot, and those images which belong to the extreme south and the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency do not show any attendant deities like Daṇḍī,

1. V. A. Smith, 'Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum', Vol. I, p. 234, pl. XXVI. 1,; E. J. Rapson, 'Indian Coins', pp. 30-31. The deity also appears on the reverse of coins of one Vāsudeva of the same period (1st half of the 7th century A. D., according to Rapson), who describes himself in his Pahlavi coin legends as 'King of Bāhman (- Bāhmanavāsi or Brahmanabad, the capital of Sind), Multan, Tukan (- Punjab), Zabulistan, and Sapardalaksan (perhaps—Rajputana)'. But 'Sapa (r) dalakṣa (n)' may very well stand for the Siwaliks in the south-east Punjab.

2. 'Tef' in Pahlavi may be the transliteration of 'deva', but 'tansaf' or 'saf-tansaf' can hardly be connected with the various names of Sūrya. Besides R. B. Whitehead has shown that this figure cannot be identified as the sun-god of Multan; 'India Antiqua', p. 326-29. Cf. also his observations in Numismatic Chronicle, 1937, p. 60-72.

3. 'Elements etc.', Vol. I, pl. LXXXIX (a relief from Chitorgadh, Mewar), pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 1 (Bronze, Madras Museum), fig. 3 (marble, Rajputana, it is four armed).

Piṅgala, and the various goddesses. The Sūrya images of the Karṇāṭadeśa (Kanarese country) and the southern Marhatta region, corresponding roughly to the old Cālukya and Hoyśālā kingdoms have almost invariably two accompanying goddesses one on each side. "The common features of both the southern and northern varieties of Sūrya are that the head is in all cases adorned with a 'kirīṭa', surrounded by a circular halo or 'prabhāmaṇḍala', and that in several instances the characteristic, seven horses and their driver Aruṇa, is missing." Rao has substantiated his observations by referring to a number of Sūrya reliefs of the mediaeval period hailing from different parts of India, mostly south India, a good many of which have been reproduced in his book.[1]

Images of Sūrya belonging to the mediaeval and earlier periods have been found all over India. But there are some regions where they are more in evidence than in others. The reasons for their comparative frequency in the north have already been explained ; the eastern and western zones of this part of India again abound in such image types. It is presumable that the descendants of the Maga Brāhmaṇas settled in large numbers in these tracts. A class of Brāhmaṇas, known as Ācāryas in eastern India, specially Bengal and Orissa, who took to the profession of astrology and sooth-saying, came to be known as the 'Daivajñas' ; their connection with the ancient Magas is demonstrable. They were the main section of the Sauras, and had the images made for their use, which were also worshipped by the general people for the purpose of averting diseases and other evils. Besides the sun temple at Multan traditionally associated with Śāmba, there is clear reference to the existence of solar shrines in northern India from a very early period. One of the earliest sun temples is said to have stood in the city of Takṣaśilā, when Apollonius visited it in about 44 A. D., during the reign of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, says that the latter saw inside the city (now occupied by the excavated site of

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.' Vol. I, pp. 311-12, Pls. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XC, XCI, XCII, XCIII etc.

Sirkap) a temple of the sun god and a royal palace (Vit. Apoll., II, 24). A reference in this connection to a very interesting sculpture in grey Taraki sandstone unearthed from stratum II of Sirkap, the intermediate city site of Taxila in occupation during the Śaka-Pahlava period will not be out of place. This is a cult statue of a standing male deity, the figure although free-standing being in alto-relievo, with flat unworked back. Marshall describes it thus, "He is wearing a tunic tied by a cord at the waist and reaching to the knees, a long shawl or 'himation' twisted round the arms, high boots, necklace. The outstretched right forearm, which was attached by a tenon and socket is missing, and the face, mutilated. .... The high boots suggest that the image may represent the Sun God".[1] Mathura and its adjoining regions in the Śaka-Kushan period were very intimately associated with the re-orientated sun cult and copious references are to be found in. the Purāṇas, like the 'Bhaviṣya', 'Varāha', 'Śāmba' and others to the solar shrines in the locality. Images of the sun god peculiar to this region and belonging to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era have already been described. The central and western India also abounded in solar shrines that were erected there in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I refers to the erection there of a magnificent temple of the sun 'which touches the sky, as it were, with charming spires' in 437-38 A. D., by a band of silk weavers who were immigrants from the Lāṭa 'vishaya', or central and southern Gujrat, into the city of Dasapura (modern Dasor or Mandasor in the Gwalior state in its western Malwa division). The same guild was also responsible for its restoration about 36 years later, when part of it fell into disrepair. It is of interest to note that some of them, 'possessed of high aims', were masters in the science of astrology, and it is presumable that they were the descendants of some of the Iranian settlers in India. The Indor (Bulandshahr district, U. P.) copper plate inscription

1. 'J. R. A. S.' 1947, pts. 1 & 2, p. 11, pl. VI, fig. 9. Marshall suggests that it may even represent Pharro (the fire God) a well represented figure on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka ; on the coins Pharro is shown wearing the same high boots as the sun god and in other respects is very similar to him. The fire cult and the sun cult, in any case, were very similar to one another, and the relief in question may be that of the Iranian Sūrya.

of the time of Skandagupta records a perpetual endowment by a Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sungod at Indrapura. Burgess in his 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat' (A. S. W. I., New Imperial Series, Vol. IX) mentions the discovery of many old sun temples (from the Gupta to the late mediaeval periods) from Multan down to Cutch. Wide spread prevalence of the sun cult all over Gujrat from the late Gupta period onwards is substantiated by a number of inscriptions and the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Moḍherā (11th cenfury A. D.), Thāna and Prabhāsa (14th cenfury A. D.), as well as by the discovery of numerous stone sculptures of the pantheon.[1] The existing Mārtāṇḍ temple most probably built by king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in the middle of the 8th century A. D. testifies to the existence of this cult in Kashmir in the early mediaeval period ; the same king also built a temple of Āditya at Lāṭapur. Though hardly any figure of Sūrya has been found there (the figure sculptures of the shrine are mostly mutilated beyond recognition), one can recognise the figure of Aruṇa, Sūrya's charioteer, holding the reins of his seven horses on one of the eastern wall of the temple.[2] Hiuen Thsang refers to a sun temple of Kanauj ; he says that besides many sacred Buddhist building near the city, there were splendid temples to the sun-god and to Maheśvara respectively (Watters, 'On Yuan Chwang', Vol. I, p. 352). The mediaeval sun temple at Konārak, Orissa, designed in the shape of a huge chariot on wheels is an evidence of the prevalence of the cult in this region. Tradition associates different parts of Orissa with some of the principal Brāhmaṇical cults ; the Ekāmrakṣetra at Bhuvaneśvara was specially associated with Śaivism, the Śrī-Kṣetra at Puri, with Vaiṣṇavism, Virajākṣetra at Jajpur, with Śāktism, and the great Orissan king Lāṅgulīya Narasiṃha Varman of the Keśarī dynasty erected the magnificent shrine of Sūrya in the Arka-Kṣetra at Konārak. The Konārak temple was the most magnificent shrine dedicated to the worship of Sūrya in the east, and could vie very well in the excellence of its style and execution with its sister shrine of Moḍherā in the west. Temples in South India exclusively dedicated to the worship of the sun-god and the planets are extremely rare,

1. H. D. Sankalia' 'The Archaeology of Gujrat', pp. 212-14.
2. R. C. Kak, 'Ancient Monuments of Kashmir' p. 133.

and thus the temple of Sūrya in the village of Sūryanārkoyil in the Tanjore district is interesting. The inscriptions found in the temple walls show 'that it was built in the reign of Kulottuṅgacholadeva (A. D. 1060-1118), and was called Kulottuṅgachola—Mārttaṇḍālaya'; the village evidently derived its name from the shrine.[1]

The principal features characteristic of the north-Indian and South-Indian Sūrya images of the mediaeval period have already been noted. It will be necessary now to study a few representative types from each group not only to illustrate their differences, but also to notice a process of development which some of the eastern Indian varieties show. The bluish basalt stone image of Sūrya discovered at Deora (Bogra) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum undoubtedly shows some development in the treatment of the iconic type not present in the Niyāmatpur, Kumārpur or Bhumara Sūrya reliefs already described. It is not much removed in point of date from the Bhumara sculpture, but it introduces many new specialities absent in the latter. It must be noted, however, that the Bhumara Sūrya was an accessory figure, appearing inside one of the 'caitya windows in a temple dedicated to Śiva, while the Deora Sūrya seems to have been the principal object of worship in a solar shrine. The number of attendants has increased, for besides Daṇḍī and Piṅgala (not shown bearded here as he is usually depicted in the later reliefs), the charioteer Aruṇa in the middle and the arrow-shooting goddesses Uṣā and Pratyuṣā are on either side on the same plane. Sūrya stands with a circular halo round the head, holding a lotus stalk in each of his two hands, which sprouts upward parallel to his ears in a bunch of one big and two tiny blossoms; he wears a flat 'kirīṭa-mukuṭa', a short necklace apparently of beads and bracelets; he is clad in a 'dhoti' tied round the waist by a girdle clasped in front, with a sword hanging by his left side. The boots on his legs are only partially visible, for much of the latter is inserted into the 'tri-ratha' chariot pedestal as we find in the sun relief from Ellora or in the Kāsipur (24 Parganas) Sūrya of approximately the same or a little earlier date. The Kushan dress has no doubt disappeared, but the sacred thread on the body of Sūrya, and his different attendants like the Mahāśvetā and the other

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, p. 300.



consorts, features almost invariably present in such reliefs of the Pāla period, have not yet made their appearance. The way in which the curls are treated and the 'trivalī' marks are shown on the throat, the plain circular halo with beaded border, the long sword tied with a slanting strap on the left side, all such peculiarities as well as the very chaste treatment of the whole theme, show that it is a fine relic of Bengal sculpture of the late Gupta period. The Kāshipur Sūrya now in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, though similar to the above in its general outline, bears lesser details. Aruṇa and probably the arrow-shooting goddesses (broken away) are the only companions of the god ; the chariot is clearly outlined, and the way in which the horses are treated and the two demons of darkness (?) are shown beneath the chariot reminds us of an earlier tradition. The Kāshipur Sūrya, although a little damaged is also a fine example of late Gupta art in Bengal. Another Sūrya figure, a bronze or octo-alloy ('aṣṭadhātu') miniature about 6" in height, unearthed with an inscribed image of Śarvāṇī from Chauddagrām (Tipperah district) and now in the collection of the Dacca Museum, follows the Deora composition in many of its details, though it depicts the main figure as seated. The miniature is undoubtedly a remarkable specimen of east Indian art of the 7th-8th century A. D.'.[1]

The next stage in the development of the Sūrya motif is illustrated by the remarkable sculpture in the collection of the South Kensington Museum, London. St. Kramrisch was the first to draw the attention of scholars to this fine example of early Pāla art in the pages of the now defunct art Journal, 'Rūpam' (Vol. 40). All the companions of the sungod are grouped on either side of his figure, almost in a line, with the arrow-shooting figures of Uṣā and Partyuṣā shown just above their heads ; unlike the Deora and Kāshipur sculptures, all the figures stand out of the chariot pedestal with their legs heavily booted. But the treatment of the lotus bunch in the hands of Sūrya as well as of the long sword attached by a strap to his left side distinctly reminds

1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', Vol. I, pp. 456-57 ; S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal', pp. 21-22 ; N. K. Bhattasali, 'Catalogue of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum', p. 172.

us of the other two. If a comparison is made between the above group of sculptures with the four Sūrya reliefs, one each from Bihar, west, north and east Bengal reproduced in Plate LIX of R. D. Banerjee's 'Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture', we can clearly trace the process of the further development of the iconic type. The two sculptures hailing from Bihar and north Bengal are undoubtedly earlier than the two others from east and west Bengal, and they possess some peculiarities of the older group of Sūrya reliefs. The treatment of the broad sword hanging on the left side of the central deity, the parabolic 'prabhāvalī' of the two compositions, the 'kulāh' caps on the heads of Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, absence of any elaborate decoration, the separate 'prabhā'-s (halos) of the Rajshahi Museum figure (R. M., No. Fa 5/176) and the absence of the two queens in the Bihar one (Indian Museum, No. 3924)—all these features prove that they belong to the early or middle Pāla period. The profuse ornamentation of the reliefs from western Bengal (I.M., No. Ms. 8) and eastern Bengal (Dacca district), their pointed stela with the 'kīrtimukha' design on the top centre (absent in the earlier group), the arrangement in several parallel layers of the companions (shown in different sizes) of the main deity, the Indianised crowns ('karaṇḍa mukuṭas') of Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, definitely date them in the late Pāla or early Sena period. These two Sūrya figures are characteristically representative of the fully developed type of such icons in Bengal, and many of the sun images in the collection of the different local museums and those of eastern India conform to them in a greater or a lesser degree. An inscribed image of the sun god hailing from Bairhāṭṭā (Dinajpur) and belonging to the 12th century A. D. is interesting for it contains some novelties not present in the other group. It is a seated variety which is comparatively rare and the pedestal inscription describes the god as 'remover of all diseases' ('samasta-rogāṇāṃ harttā'). Sūrya is seated in 'padmāsana' with flames issuing from his head and torso, hands (broken) holding the usual lotus flowers, his male attendants Daṇḍī and Piṅgala are also shown seated on either side, and the usual female companions being in a standing posture. The artist has faintly suggested the covering

of the body and the legs, and has placed the miniature figures of the eight other 'grahas', four on either side of the central deity; the sculpture is a bit heavy and crude in its style and execution.[1] Among the various sculptures recovered from the temple remains at Khiching (Mayurbhanj State, Orissa) is a beautiful image of Sūrya seated in 'padmāsana' on double petalled lotus ('viśvapadma' or 'mahāmbuja') with his two hands holding full blossomed lotuses by their stalks. He wears a conical crown, earrings and necklaces; the covering of his body and the legs is skilfully suggested by the sculptor. Aruṇa seated below him is driving the seven horses carved on the pedestal; Sūrya has no other attendants. The general simplicity of the relief deftly carved by the artist marks it as a commendable piece of mediaeval Orissan art. Reference may be made in this connection to a huge sculpture in a variety of a very coarse-grained sandstone ('māqārā' according to Orissan dialect), unfortunately very much mutilated, in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is a four-armed seated figure wearing various ornaments and a high 'kirīṭa', holding a short-handled 'śūla' (face downwards) in its back right hand, and a full blossomed lotus by its stalk in the front one; his two left hands are broken, but there are enough indications to show that the front left hand held a lotus; the legs are almost gone, but whatever is left of them shows that they were placed in a crossed position('padmāsana'). It is described in the Museum records as Vajrapāṇi, but there can be little doubt that it represents a four-armed seated variety of the sun god. Its original provenance being Konārak (Orissa), and the fact that its front hands held two lotus flowers clearly indicate its solar character. Another four-armed figure of Sūrya, but this time a standing one made of bluish basalt ('bāulmārā' in the local dialect), is in the small museum inside the temple compound of Konārak. It shows the god standing in the one-wheeled chariot pedestal with his two male attendants only on either side, his front hands (broken) holding the usual lotus flowers, with a long handled 'śūla' in his back right hand, his back left being in the 'varada' pose with a tiny mark on the palm. These two four-armed Sūrya figures from

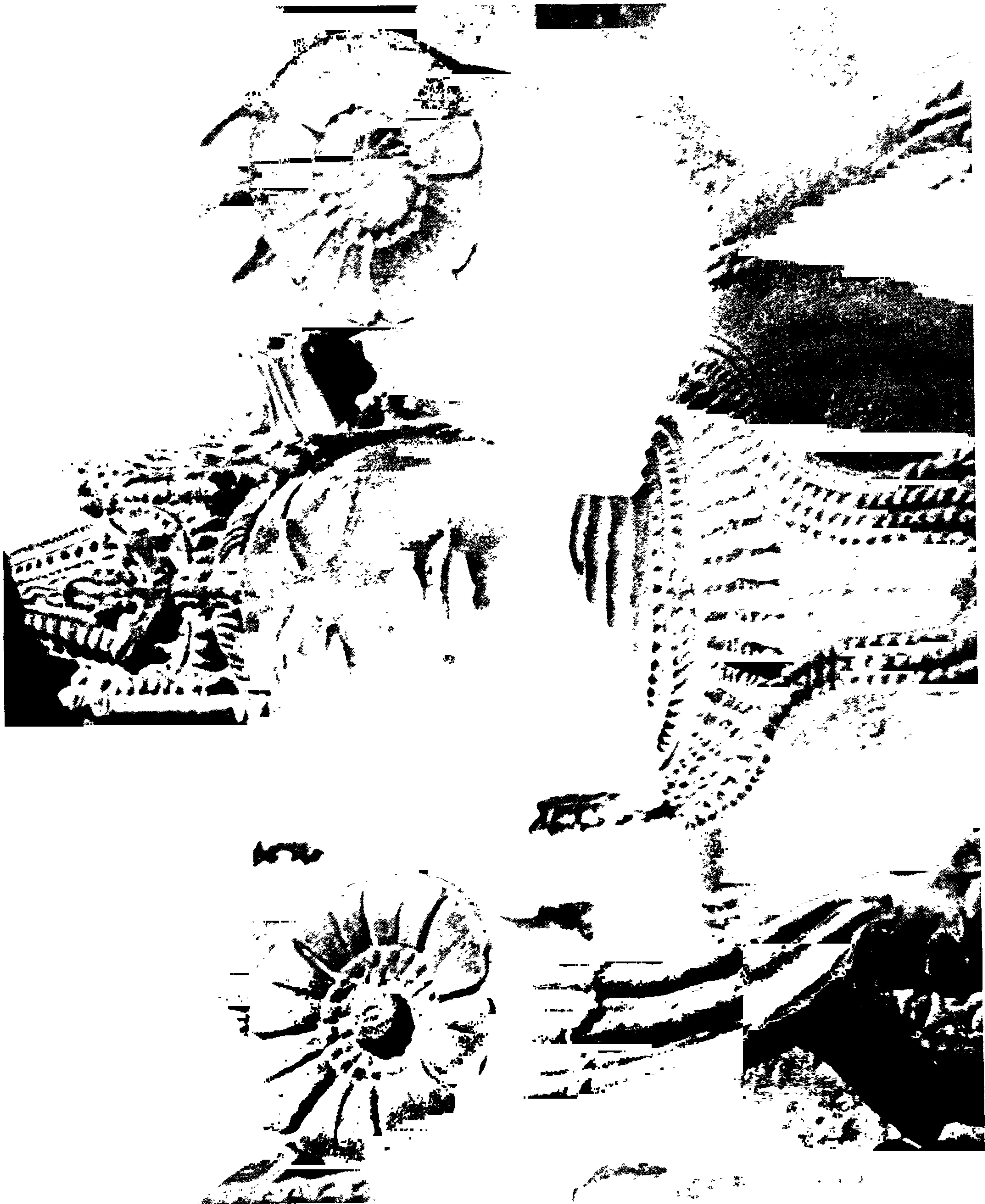
1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', Vol. I, pp. 456-57, pl. XV; A. S. I. A. R., 1930-34, Pt. II, pp. 256-57, pl. CXXVII (c).

Konārak may represent the Vivasvat variety of the Dvādaśāditya gro up ; the 'Viśvakarmāvatāra' describes it in this manner : 'The image of Vivasvat should be characterised by lotus cognisance (i. e. two lotuses in its two front hands) and should have a wreath or fillet in its (back) left hand and a trident in its (back) right'.[1] The mark in the centre of the back left palm of the Konārak figure just described may typify a small fillet.

The western Indian images of Sūrya, though stylistically different from their eastern Indian conterparts, resemble the latter in the broad outlines of their iconography. The Moḍherā sun reliefs are their best representatives, and they can be dated in the 11th century A. D. Much earlier types are not unknown in the west, and mention may be made of the tiny Sūrya figure shown in the extreme right of the main architrave of the shrine doorway of the pre-Caulukyan shrine at Kadvar, a few miles to the south-east of Somanātha-Patan in the Kathiawar peninsula. There are five panels in the form of miniature shrines, having inside them figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Soma (Candra) in this order, the last having a crescent moon behind his head. Sūrya is seated on a lotus in the 'Mathura Sūrya' or 'Kushan King' fashion (somewhat resembling the 'utkuṭikāsana' pose, described in the iconographic texts), holding two lotuses in his hands. As this is a miniature figure, all the other accessories are absent ; the boots on the legs are also not quite clear from the reproduction.[2] The Moḍherā Sūryas are not all of the same type, there being slight differences in their individual delineation. One (no. 5) of the two illustrated by Burgess in his 'Archaeological Survey of Western India', Vol· IX, pl. LVI, figs. 5 ann 6, shows the god standing erect in the seven-horsed chariot ; he has two hands (broken) holding full-blown lotuses ; the god has usual ornaments, the Iranian waist-girdle and the top boots, and is not only accompanied by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, but the two horse-faced gods (Aśvins, sons of Sūrya by Saṃjñā) are also shown

1. As quoted by T. A. G. Rao, op. cit., Vol. I, App. C., p. 86. The extract describing the twelve Ādityas presents most of them with the exception of Puṣan who is expressly mentioned as 'dvibhuja' and possibly Viṣṇu, as four-armed in a subtle manner. In the first line of each couplet describing an Āditya, the emblems in the back hands are named, and in the second line reference is made to the two lotuses. Thus Dhātā the first of them, is described as, - 'Dakṣiṇe pauṣkarī mālā kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ | 'Padmābhyāṁ śobhitakarā sā Dhātrī prathamā smṛtā'.

2. H. Cousens, 'Temples of Somanātha', pls. XXII and XXIV.



behind them. The other figure (no. 6) differs from the former in the following respects ; 'it is less richly carved, the lotuses stand above the shoulder and the boots seem to be impressed ; there are no Aśvins and the attendants are not seated, but standing; there are no horses also; the figure stands on a lotus ; above it on either side is a devotee or Vidyādhara in the act of praising'. H. D. Sankalia after referring to a few other composite figures of the sun god hailing from different parts of the Kathiawar Peninsula classifies them under three groups '(1) purely Caulukyan Moḍherā figures, (2) so called "Rajputana type" Rajkot, Dhānk and Junagadh figures, (3) mixed, comprising figures at Kadvar, Thān and Prabhāsa'.[1]

One of the earliest extant Sūrya images of the south Indian variety is that belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Guḍimallam in the Madras Presidency. It stands bare-footed on a pedestal on which neither Aruṇa nor the seven horses are shown ; the upper part of its body is left uncovered, and it has no companions by its side. It has its hands raised to the level of the shoulders, holding two lotus buds, and 'from the features of the face and the peculiarities of the modelling in general it may well be taken to belong to a period anterior to the seventh century A. D.' The Melcheri Sūrya of the later Pallava period is almost similar to the above, but Aruṇa and the seven horses are shown on the pedestal.[2] In the central Deccan and its western part solar shrines or images of the early Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa periods are not unknown. The temple of Lad Khan, probably the oldest in the temple group at Aihole, has on the west side of the small shrine on its roof an image of Sūrya. 'This last points to the probability of this small shrine having been dedicated to this deity, being placed upon the roof so that the rays of the rising sun could shine straight into the cell and on to the image within, unimpeded by the intervening houses of the village'. Possibly the temple was originally dedicated to Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, as might have also been the Durgā temple in the same place. One of the five old shrines around Lad Khan's temple was originally of the sun god, for above the figure of Garuḍa on the dedicatory block is a seated Sūrya inside a trefoil niche. 'Within the shrine is a beautiful

1. H. D. Sankalia, 'op. cit'., pp. 157-63.
2. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit'., Vol. I, pp. 312-13, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

standing image, nearly life-size, of Sūrya, but without his boots. Underneath him are his seven horses prancing forward, and flanked by the wheels of his chariot'.[1] An unusual type of the image of this god was found among the loose sculptures in niches within the comparatively late temple of Siddheśvara at Hāveri. This fine image of the sun god is represented bare-footed according to the south Indian convention, but it has the unorthodox adjunct of a seven-hooded Nāga canopying its head. The image is, however, late and the temple in which it was found can not be dated earlier than the 11th or 12th century A. D.

Solar character can be traced in the origin of the many important Brāhmaṇical deities of the Purāṇic period. The story about Saṃjñā's flight from Sūrya relates how from the leavings or parings of the resplendent body of the sun, many weapons and attributes were made for other divinities. Thus, 'Sudarśana Cakra', 'Vajra', 'Śakti', etc., were each made out of these cast-off portions of the god, and they came to be regarded as the special weapons of Viṣṇu, Indra, Śiva, Skanda and others. The legend perhaps shows, in no doubt a very peculiar way, the solar association of many of these deities. The 'Gāyatrī mantra' of the Brāhmaṇas, already mentioned above, is meditated on in the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, in the morning, midday and evening respectively, each of which shines resplendent within the flaming solar orb. The close association of the members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad with the sun is clearly manifested by such archaeological evidence as the panels of the shrine doorway of the pre-Calukyan temple at Kadvar (Kathiawar Peninsula) described above. The connection of Viṣṇu with Sūrya is well known and needs no demonstration. The Nirmand (Kangra district, Punjab) copper-plate inscription (c. 612-13 A. D.) of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasena illustrates in an interesting manner how sun worship got mixed up with the worship of Śiva. The names of some of these feudatory kings and their consorts such as Varuṇasena, Ravisena, Śikharasvāminī, Mihiralakṣmī, as well as those of the 'conveyer of orders' ('Dūta' or 'Ājñādāpaka') and the 'writer' ('Lekhaka') such as Kuśalaprakāśa and Udyotārka (who was also the 'gaṇaśreṣṭha') prove that

1. H. Cousens, 'The Chalukyan Architecture of Kanarese Districts' p. 84, and p. 47.

originally they had solar affiliation. But the inscription records the allotment of a village by Samudrasena to the Śiva Mihireśvara enshrined by his mother Mihiralakṣmī, and this emphasises their later Śaiva inclination.[1] Clear connection of the individual members of the triad with the sun god, however, is demonstrated by several interesting image types of composite character, that have been found in different parts of India. These are mostly mediaeval in point of date and emphasise the absorption of the other cult deities in the sun. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' expresses the idea underlying these images when it invokes Sūrya in this couplet : 'Brāhmī Māheśvarī caiva Vaiṣṇavī caiva te tanuḥ | Tridhā yasya svarūpantu Bhānorbhāsvān prasīdatu' ('Brahmā's, Śiva's and Viṣṇu's bodies are the same as the body of the resplendent sun whose special nature is three-fold indeed. May the sun be gracious', Bibliotheca Indica edition, ch. 109, V. 71). The three-headed and eight-armed Sūrya in the Chidambaram temple is a characteristic image of this nature ; its natural hands are in the 'abhaya' and 'varada' poses, the three other pairs of hands holding two lotuses, 'cakra' and 'pāśa', 'śūla' (?) and 'ṭaṅka' (or a tiny snake ?). It stands bare-footed on a pedestal on which are carved Aruṇa and seven horses and is attended by two female figures probably his consorts.[2] In this composite relief emphasis is laid on the oneness of Viṣṇu, Śiva and probably also Brahmā (the lotus in the hands can as well be regarded as an emblem of the god who is 'Kamalayonī') with Sūrya. A somewhat similar composition, three-faced and eight-armed, occurs on the west face of the small south east shrine dedicated to Sūrya inside the compound of Limboji Mātā's temple at Delmal, northern Gujrat, but here it is a seated one. Of the three faces, that on the proper right is probably of Brahmā, on the proper left, of Śiva, and the one in the centre, of Sūrya (Viṣṇu or Sūrya-

1. J. F. Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions' (CII, Vol. III), pp. 288-91. Fleet simply observes, 'It is a Śaiva inscription ; but the occurrence of the word "mihira", "the sun", as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites'. But this is not exactly the case ; the part 'mihira' in 'Mihireśvara' is in evident allusion to the name of the queen-mother Mihiralakṣmī who installed the image.

2. H. Krishna Sastri, 'South Indian Gods and Goddesses', fig. 144.

Nārāyaṇa); the hands that are broken carry the two lotuses (attributes of Sūrya), a 'śūla' and a triple-headed cobra (both are of Śiva), a water-vessel (characteristic also of Brahmā), one of the right hands being in the 'varada' pose ; evidently the hands carrying the emblems of Viṣṇu have been lost. The figure is seated on Garuḍa below which are marked the 'Haṃsa' (swan) and 'Nandī' (bull, not a seven-headed horse, Burgess' alternative suggestion), the respective vehicles of Brahmā and Śiva. Though the seven horses and Aruṇa of Sūrya are not present on the pedestal, yet the boots on the legs of the main image, its prominent waist girdle ('avyaṅga') and the two lotuses typify its solar character. Burgess remarks about this curious sculpture, "in one figure the four divinities, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, or the Trimūrti - with Sūrya, appear blended ; or shall we rather say it represents a Vaiṣṇava Trimūrti, with Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa as the central figure, seated on his 'vāhana' Garuḍa ?".[1] Several such composite images have also been found in Central Provinces ; the three-faced and eight-armed sculpture originally brought from Bangaon (13 miles north of Damoh, C. P.) is one of them. The emblems of the god are gone with his hands, but his solar character is emphasised by his boots, the charioteer Aruṇa, the seven horses and his three companions. Hiralal is wrong in recognising Mahādeva in the seated bull-faced figure in the proper left corner, Viṣṇu in the standing mace-holding figure just above it, and Brahmā in the bearded standing figure on the right of the main deity. They are really none other than one of the Aśvins (the figure is horse-faced, not bull-faced), Daṇḍī and Piṅgala respectively,—the last two being regular attendants of the sun god. The arrow-shooting goddesses are shown on either side of the top section of the 'prabhāvalī'. Another such figure, but six-armed, is carved in the centre of the shrine doorway of a ruined temple in the village named Madhia (Panna State). The rear most hands carry a trident and a deer, the middle hands, two lotuses and the front right is shown in the 'varada' pose, the front left being broken. In the left corner is carved the figure of a bull and in the right, that of Garuḍa. It should be noted here that the association of the sun god with Viṣṇu and Śiva is much

1. 'Archaeological Survey of Western India', Vol. IX - 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat', pp. 88-9, pls. LXIX and LXXI. 7.

emphasised in this particular icon[1]. Coming to eastern India, we can refer to two fine mediaeval sculptures in the collection of the V. R. S, Museum, Rajshahi, both hailing from north Bengal. The unique three-headed and ten-armed image of the 12th century A. D. found at Manda (Rajshahi) contains the usual accessories noticeable in a well-developed type of Sūrya image in this part of India. Its central face is placid in aspect, the side ones being fierce ; its front two pairs of hands are broken, but the full-blossomed lotuses held in one pair of them are clearly visible ; the back hands from the right onwards carry a 'khaṭvāṅga', a 'triśūla', a 'śakti', a 'nīlotpala', a 'ḍamaru' and a 'sarpa' ; flames issue out of its heads and shoulders. In it the close connection between the sun and Śiva (Bhairava) is delineated, and the 'dhyāna' in the 'Sāradātilaka Tantra' which describes a variety of Mārttaṇḍa (Sun) image appears to conform to it in many of its details. The 'dhyāna' says that such images of Mārttaṇḍa who is half or part of Śiva ('Ballabhārddha'), should be four-faced, and hold a 'skull mace' ('khaṭvāṅga'), two lotuses, a discus, a spear, a noose, an elephant-goad, a beautiful rosary and a 'skull-cap' ('kapāla').[2] It refers to four faces ('vedavaktra'—the number of the Vedas is four), but as the sculpture in question is a relievo one, the fourth face could not be shown by the artist ; the emblems enumerated appear to be nine, the tenth hand being probably in some action pose not expressly mentioned by it. Though the emblems in the hands of the image do not all tally with the description, there is a close correspondence ; Sarkar refers to the 'Pīṭhamantra' in the 'Sāradātilaka', which is 'Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śivātmakāya Saurāya Yogapīṭhāya

1. Hiralal notes these two images in his artiole 'Trimūrtis in Bundelkhand' published in the 'Indian Antiquary', 1918. These are not really Trimūrtis, but are composite Sūrya or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya-Śiva figures being described now. His reference to the three-headed image in a Khajuraho temple (erected in 953-54) is out of place here. Its two side faces, as he himself says, are bovine (lionine ?) and porcine, the central being human, and thus it represents no other deity than Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti, described by me in Chapter II of 'Hindu Iconography'. The temple inscription also, as quoted by him from 'Epigraphia Indica', Vol. I, p. 124, proves it, for the god Vaikuṇṭha is invoked in it. It may be said here that both Natesa Aiyar and Hiralal seem to be wrong in describing the Peshwar Museum miniature stone sculpture hailing from Akhun Ḍheri near Charsadda as standing for Trimūrti. Its true nature will be discussed by me in my chapter on the 'Aṣṭadikpālas'.

2. K. C. Sarkar tentatively names it as 'Mārttaṇḍabhairava' ; 'I. H. Q.', VI, 465-70.

namaḥ' ('Adoration to Saura who is one with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva'). A composite representation of Brahmā and Sūrya can be recognised in the beautiful image of the 11th century A. D. acquired from Mahendra (Dinajpur) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum. The composition is in many respects similar to the usual two-armed Sūrya figures of this period, but it is six-armed. Its natural hands hold the usual full-blossomed lotuses, while the four additional hands show 'vara' (with lotus mark on the palm), 'akṣamālā', 'abhaya' (with 'padmāṅka') and 'kamaṇḍalu'. The Dhātṛ aspect of the sun, the first in the list of the Dvādaśādityas given in the 'Viśvakarma-śāstrā' holds in its (front) hands lotuses, and a lotus garland (or a fillet of lotus seeds) in its (back) right hand, and a water-vessel in its (back) left ('Dakṣiṇe pauṣkarī mālā kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ | Padmābhyāṃ śobhitakarā sā Dhātrī prathamā smṛtā'). This particular Āditya has no doubt some affinities with the Mahendra Sūrya, but the latter is more in line with the types of iconic amalgams being considered here. Dhātṛ is no doubt one of the Ādityas, but Dhātā or Vidhātā is also one of the synonyms of Brahmā Prajāpati, and thus both these characters appear to be symbolised in this interesting relief of north Bengal.

The names of the Dvādaśādityas usually given in the comparatively late texts have already been enumerated in the first part of this chapter. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara', one of the earlier texts, does not name and describe them individually, but simply says that 'the twelve Ādityas should be given the form of Sūrya'. But it seems that Indra was included in the list, for Viṣṇu, Indra and Varuṇa are mentioned in this context just afterwards. Gopinath Rao summarises in a tabular from the description of the twelve Ādityas as given in the 'Viśvakarmaśāstra' (Vol. I, part I, p. 310), but his table is not quite correct, for it makes all the twelve four-armed. A reference to the original text quoted by him shows, however, that at least one of them (if not two), Puṣan, is two-armed, for it expressly tells us that Puṣan should be two-armed and should have lotus cognisance, i. e., two lotuses in his hands ('Puṣākhyasya bhavenmūrtirdvibhujā padmalāñcchitā'। Sarvapāpaharā jñeyā sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitā'). Viṣṇu also

appears to be two-armed, for the text enjoins that 'Sudarśana' should be in his right hand and lotus in his left ('Sudarśanakarā savye padmahastā tu vāmataḥ I Eṣā syād dvādaśīmūrtir—Viṣṇoramitatejasaḥ'). Each of the remaining ten is four-armed as can be inferred from the way in which they are described.[1] Separate images of these Ādityas are extremely rare, and the two Konārak images of Vivasvān already described are extremely interesting. They are sometimes shown carved on the sides and top of the detached frames (most probably set up behind an image of the sun god) on the back slab of the Sūrya image. Rao first drew the attention of scholars to the architectural frame (not correctly described by him as the 'toraṇa' or gateway of a Sūrya temple) lying outside the Junagaḍh Museum in the Kathiawar Peninsula. The frame shows two-armed figures of Sūrya carrying lotuses, in separate niches. three on either side and five on the top ; barring the top centre figure which is shown seated and accompanied by the two arrow-shooting goddesses, all the ten are standing and attended by other female companions; four of the Navagrahas, probably Śukra, Śani, and certainly Rāhu and Ketu, are shown on the top. The eleven Ādityas together with the central figure which is missing would make up the requisite number. Sankalia draws our attention to an almost similar motif (but shorn of many of the details of the former) in the Sūrya relief from Dhānk, in which the 'prabhāvalī' of the main image contains the figure of the eleven Ādityas, five on either side and one on the top. It should be noted that the represenation of the Ādityas in the earlier relief of Junagadh and the later one from Dhānk follows the mode laid down in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' instead of that given in 'Viśvakarmaśāstra.[2]

Gopinath Rao does not mention any thing about the images of Revanta, nor does he quote any text describing this very interesting type of solar divinity. It is probably because they are almost unknown in southern India ; but they appear to have been quite

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit'., Vol. I, App. C., pp. 86-7.

2. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, p. 317, pl. XCV ; H. D. Sankalia, 'op. cit.', pp. 158-59, figs. 70 and 72.

common in northern, especially, eastern India. Raghunandana quotes a passage from the 'Kalpataru' which took it from the 'Brahma Purāṇa', and records the worship of Revanta with pomp and ceremony ('Pujyaḥ sāśvaiśca Revanto yathāvibhavavistaraiḥ', 'Tithitattva', p. 690). The 'Kālikā Purāṇa', after describing his image, says that he should be worshipped (by kings) in an image, or a water-vessel, at the gates according to the rites of sun worship (ch. 85, 49.). His worship was also known in Gujrat, as the inscription, of Śārṅgadeva from Vanthli shows' (Lüders' List, 'Ep. Ind.', Vol. X, No. 624). He is described in the Purāṇas as the principal son of Sūrya, and that his worship was popular in north India is proved also by the iconographic sections of such early works as the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' and the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The chapter on Pratimālakṣaṇa in the former lays down that 'Revanta is a horseman engaged with his companions in the sport of hunting' (ch. 57, V. 56) ; the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' simply says that 'the lord Revanta should be like Sūrya, (and) on the back of a horse' (Bk. III, ch. 70 v. 5). A black basalt image of this son of Sūrya belonging to the late mediaeval period, originally hailing from Ghāṭnagar (Dinajpur) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum, presents him in a very interesting manner. He is shown riding on horse-back with his legs encased in boots ; he holds a whip in his right hand and the reins of the horse in his left ; an attendant raises an umbrella over his head ; two robbers are near him, one ready to attack him from the front, and the other from a tree top behind. The pedestal shows a woman standing, a devotee, a man with a sword and shield about to attack a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife ; on the right corner of the partially broken stela appears a dwelling house with a couple inside it. The relief with this genre scene cannot be satisfactorily explained by the account of Revanta given in the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' or 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' which along with the 'Viṣṇu Purāṇa' says that he was the son of Sūrya by Saṃjñā and was also the king of the Guhyakas, appears to throw some light on this relief. It tells us that "Revanta is the god that delivers people from the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and

robbers and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kinship, perfect health, fame and exalted position".[1] The top and bottom sections of the relief probably typify peaceful home-life, the blessing of the god to his worshippers, while the middle one illustrates one of the various perils that befall them. It may be noted incidentally that the motif of 'a woman cutting a fish' with a big fish-knife also occurs in the centre of the pedestal of the Dacca Museum Hāritī image. The 'Kālikā Purāṇa', while recommending Revanta's worship to be perormed at the gates, describes him as riding a horse with his hair fastened up by a cloth, wearing a coat of mail, holding a whip in the left hand and a sword in the right which also rests on the back of the white horse. This description also tallies in part with the Ghāṭnagar relief.[2] In a very indifferently preserved image of this god recovered from an old tank at Baḍkāmtā (Tippera), and now in the collection of the Dacca Museum, he is shown on horse-back with a bowl in his right hand, in the company of musicians, other male and female attendants, and even retriever dogs. 'Mṛgayā' (hunting) is a royal sport ('vyasana') in which revelries were indulged into, and this appears to be emphasised in this relief. Several sculptures exactly similar to it hailing from Bihar and now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, were wrongly identified as Kalkī who is also represented in mediaeval art as riding on horseback and brandishing a sword in his right hand.[3]

Manu and the Asvins—Yama, the Aśvins, and Manus, the present and the future, were also several other sons of Sūrya, whose images are described in some of the iconographic texts. Yama is one of the guardians of the eight quarters (Aṣṭa-Dikpālas), and as such his image will be studied in the chapter on the Aṣṭadikpālas. The twin gods, the Aśvins, are the divine physicians

1. 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa', (Bibliotheoa Indica Edition) ch. 109, vv. 22-23,

2. The Ghāṭnagar relief was first correctly studied by N. B. Sanyal, Curator, V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi, in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly', vol. III, 1927, pp. 469-72 and plate.

3. B. B. Bidyabinod corrected this error in 'J. A. S. B', New Series, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 391-92, pl. XXX.

born out of the union of Sūrya and Saṃjñā who had assumed temporarily the shapes of a horse and a mare ; their Vedic counterparts were the Nāsatyas, the Indo-Iranian deities, who are mentioned along with Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa in the Boghazküi inscriptions. Their images are rarely described in the texts ; the 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa', while describing the figures of various attendants of the sungod, says that the Aśvins should be placed one on either side of Sūrya, and as they were born out of (the union) of the two (assuming) the form of horses, they are (called) Aśvins ('Brāhma Parva', ch. 124, v. 20). They are seldom depicted separately in mediaeval Brāhmaṇical art, and are only infrequently placed in the Sūrya reliefs of western and central India. It has already been shown that some Moḍhera reliefs of Sūrya and the Damoh sculpture of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa contain the figures of the gods who are shown horse-faced. Though the images of the Manus are described in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', they are extremely rare in Indian art. The text says, 'The present Manu should be furnished with the marks of a king, whereas the future one should be devoid of all ornaments, wearing matted locks and carrying a water vessel and a rosary ; engaged in austerities, (he) is endowed with lustre, though lean'[1] It should be noted that there is nothing distinctive in the form of the present Manu, but the Bhaviṣya Manu has clear iconographic traits according to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' description. The north-western side of the basement wall of the Paharpur stūpa contains a relief (859 N.S.) showing a potbellied figure standing with a slight bend with two plantain trees, one on either side ; it is two-armed, the left hand holds a water-vessel and the right one, a rosary ; it wears a 'dhoti', has a 'jaṭāmukuṭa' on its head and a sacred thread on its body and is not decorated with any ornaments ; its face is damaged but its expression is calm and serene. Another figure in the same wall, almost similar to the above in all its iconographic details, is cruder in style and execution. R. D. Banerjee described the first of the sculptures as a 'corpulent ascetic' without trying to ascertain its identity ; S. K. Saraswati correctly suggests that

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Bk. III, Ch. 70, vv. 2-3. The other past Manus are to be depicted like the present, while the future ones, like the one named Savarṇā (Bhaviṣya Manu) just described.

the two reliefs closely conform to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' description of Bhaviṣya Manu quoted above.[1]

The Navagrahas :—The Navagrahas were offered special worship in mediaeval times by the Indians, and the ceremony named 'Grahayāga' was much prevalent in the remote corners of Eastern India. Their worship, however, does not seem to have been much in vogue in the Gupta period, for their images can hardly be recognised among the extant sculptures of the time. The Gupta inscriptions do not even incidentally refer to the worship of this group of divinities, and it is presumable that it became prevalent in the post-Gupta age. It continued, however, for centuries afterwards as the literary as well as archaeological data testify. The great Smārta author Raghunandana of Bengal is said to have collected a lot of information about it from such earlier works as 'Āśvalāyanagṛhyapariśiṣṭa', 'Matsya Purāṇa', 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti' etc.; 'Grahayāgatatva', though not included in the works on 28 'tatvas' written by Raghunandana, is attributed to him. The 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti' lays down that "the 'grahayajña' should be performed by one who desires peace and prosperity, ample rains (for his crops), long life and nourishment, and who wants to harm (his enemies); Sūrya, Soma (Candra-Moon), the son of the Earth (Maṅgala—Mars), the son of Soma (Budha—Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu are known as the 'Grahas'; (their figures) are to be made of copper, crystal, red sandal, gold (in the case of Budha and Bṛhaspati), silver, iron, lead and bell-metal respectively; (or these figures) should be drawn on canvas with their respective colours, or in 'maṅdalas' with scent (scented pastes like that of sandal-wood). Or their images should be made of stone, lump of clay and wood.[2] It should be noted that according to the Smṛti writer, the figures of the 'grahas' made of different metals, specially associated with one or other of them, and if those were wanting their forms drawn on canvas or in 'maṇḍalas' made of scented pastes, were mainly for use in the ceremony of the 'Grahayajñā'.

1. S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal', pp. 68-9. The only difference between the description in the text and the reliefs in question is that the latter show corpulent figures, while the Bhaviṣya Manu is to be depicted lean in appearance according to the former.

2. 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti', Bombay edition (ed. by B. S. Moghe, 1892), p. 89.

This may be one of the reasons why their images of the Gupta period have not been found. But their stone images were meant also for architectural use in the post-Gupta period. The Navagrahas either standing or rarely seated are usually carved side by side, with their characteristic cognisances about which the texts differ. Pandit B. S. Moghe, in his commentary on verses 297-99 of the 'Ācārādhyāya' of the 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti', quotes the following description of them from the 'Matsya Purāṇa' : "Sun of the lustre of the inside of a lotus seated in 'padmāsana' with lotuses in his hands should be always two-armed riding on a seven-horsed chariot. The white moon clad in white garments and white jewels should be made two-armed, one hand holding a mace, the other being in the 'varada' pose, and should ride a ten-horsed chariot. The son of the earth (Maṅgala) having red garlands and red dress has a ram for his mount and is four-armed, his hands holding a spear, a trident, a mace, the fourth being in the boon-conferring pose. Decked in yellow garlands and dress, and having the lustre of the 'karṇikāra' flower, Budha rides a lion, his (four) hands showing a sword, a shield, a mace and the 'varamudrā'. The respective preceptors of the Devas and the Daityas (Bṛhaspati and Śukra) should be made like him yellow-white and four-armed, their hands holding a staff, a rosary, a water-vessel and a boon. The son of Sūrya (Śani) of the effulgence of 'Indranīlamaṇi' should ride on a vulture, his four hands displaying a trident, a 'varamudrā', a bow and an arrow. In this (group), Rāhu of the fierce face and blue colour is commendably depicted seated in lion-throne, his (four) hands carrying a sword, a shield, a trident and a boon. The ugly-faced dusk-coloured Ketus seated on vultures are all two-armed, their hands holding maces and boons. All the grahas who bring good to people wear 'kirīṭa' and are in height 120 'aṅgulas' of their own". The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' (Bk III, ch. 69, vv. 2-10) gives us quite a different description of the 'planets', while other texts like the 'Agni Purāṇa', 'Aṃśumadbhedāgama', 'Śilparatna' differ from one another as regards many essential points in their respective accounts.[1] The Navagrahas are

1. Many of these texts have been qouted by T. A. G. Rao in his 'Elements etc'., Vol. I, App. C, pp. 91-97.

usually carved side by side on one single slab, such slabs being placed on the door-lintel of not only shrines dedicated to Sūrya, but also to many other major deities of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. The Navagraha slabs belonging mostly to the mediaeval period have been found from different parts of India, and hardly any one of them goes back to the Gupta age. Almost all the old Hindu temples at Osia (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) have the nine planets carved on the frieze of their shrine-doors. There are two ancient temples there originally dedicated to Sūrya ; they not only have the 'planets' represented in groups, but one of the latter, Candra, appears to have been depicted separately on the projecting pillars of these shrines. He is shown in one case as supported by two birds, and not riding in a chariot drawn by ten horses[1]. Very late representations of individual members of this group of divinities are not unknown, but separate figures of them belonging to early mediaeval period are extremely rare. The two reliefs (Nos. 60 and 61) on the basement of the Paharpur temple, correctly identified by S. K. Saraswati as Candra and Bṛhaspati, were at first wrongly described by R. D. Banerjee and K. N. Dikshit as Śiva and Brahmā respectively. They belong to the 7th or 8th Century A.D., the period of the second group of the stone reliefs at Paharpur. No. 60 shows a 'male figure standing quite erect between two plantain trees with a rosary and a water vessel in its right and left hands, wearing a very artistically arranged 'jaṭāmukuṭa', and no ornaments ; there is a prominent crescent mark over the crown of matted locks'. Banerjee described it as Śiva Somanātha, Dikshit, 'Śiva Candraśekhara'. But the figure can not be that of Śiva, for the simple reason that it does not show two of his characteristic cognisances, the 'urdhaliṅga' ('penis erectus') and the third eye vertically placed on his forehead. The summary description of Candra as given in the 'Agni Purāṇa', fits in very interestingly with the relief in question. It says, that Candra should have a 'kuṇḍikā' (water vessel) and a 'japyamālā' (a rosary of beads as his attributes ('kuṇḍikājapyamālīnduḥ').[2] A crescent is invariably shown behind the head and

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Temples of Osia', 'A. S. I. A. R'., 1908-09, pp. 111 ff.
2. 'Agni Purāṇa', Ch. 51. 10-12 : An analysis of the description supplies us with some interesting

shoulders of MAO and MANAO BAGO, two Zoroastrian deities associated with moon, appearing as reverse devices on some coins of Kanishka and Huvishka; MAO usually holds a long sceptre in one of his hands and a fillet in the other. But these Zoroastrian moon gods are royal figures dressed in the way of the northerners (cf. the 'udīcyaveśa' of the north-Indian sun images), while the Paharpur relief in question as well as the Purāṇic description depicts the moon god as a sage. The Kalyāṇasundaramūrti of Śiva (the type depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī) at Elephanta has among its attendants the standing figures of Sūrya and Candra on his either side. The latter is characterised there as a serene person wearing 'jaṭās' with a crescent behind his head, and carrying in his two hands a jar ('sudhābhāṇḍa', a pot of nectar). The moon is supposed to be the receptacle of the divine nectar ('sudhā') and thus the nectar jar in his hands is very appropriate. Relief No. 61 at Paharpur shows a fat squat two-armed figure standing between two plantain trees wearing a 'jaṭāmukuṭa' and the dress of a Brāhmaṇical sage, his right and left hands carrying a rosary and a manuscript. Both Banerjee and Dikshit described it as an image of Brahmā, but Saraswati is right in identifying it as Bṛhaspati after comparing it with his characterisation in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The text lays down that 'Bṛhaspati should be made of a complexion like that of molten gold and two-armed, a manuscript and a rosary being placed in his two hands'. This description does not tally with the 'Agni Purāṇa' account of Bṛhaspati.[1] Rāhu is another of the 'grahas', who seems to have been depicted independently of Navagraha reliefs. But he appears in other compositions, not separately like the Paharpur figures of Candra and Bṛhaspati. In many Trivikrama reliefs of central Deccan, central Provinces and other parts of India, Rāhu appears as a grinning face near the

facts : Teja i. e. Sūrya is two-armed holding a lotus and a sword (a few such images from Mathura of the Saka-Kushan period hold these identical attributes); Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati and Śukra all show a rosary in one of their hands, their other hands holding, a water-vessel, a spear, a bow, a waterpot, and again a waterpot respectively. Thus, according to this account, there appears to be no marked distinction between the images of Soma, Bṛhaspati and Śukra.

1. For a detailed description of these two reliefs, cf. S. K. Saraswati, 'op. cit.', pp. 65-67, fig. 17; 'M. A, S. I', No. 55 ('Paharpur'), pp. 53-54, pl. XXX(b) and (e).

uplifted leg of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama (cf. infra, chapter on the Vyūhas and the Vibhavas). On some reliefs representing the Vajrayāna goddess Mārīcī who is none other than Sūrya in feminine from, Rāhu appears on the pedestal below the charioteer goddess (the female counterpart of Aruṇa) driving the seven pigs drawing Mārīcī's car (cf. R. D. Banerjee, 'E. I. S. M. S'., pl. XII, fig. b). The 'kīrtimukha' design may also stand for Rāhu as suggested by Kramrisch. As for the group representation of these Navagrahas, mention may be made of the much mutilated door-lintel of the mediaeval Śiva temple at Bargaon in the Jubbulpore district of the Central Provinces. It contains the figure of dancing Śiva in the central panel with two 'Dvārapālas' of the god in the extreme corners, and the nine 'planets', four on either side of the middle panel,—Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala and Budha on its right, and Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, and Rāhu and Ketu combined (Ketu is placed on the top of Rāhu) on its left. All the figures from Sūrya to Śani are two-armed and well-dressed, wearing 'vanamālās', holding their respective attributes which can not be clearly distinguished ; Rāhu is all head and torso with his two hands shown in the 'tarpaṇamudrā', and Ketu, very much mutilated, is a hybrid figure—part man and part snake. The whole relief is beautifully carved and is assignable to the time of the Cedī king Karṇadeva or a little earlier ('M. A. S. T', 23, p. 107, pl. XXXIXb). A late Gupta sandstone relief from Sarnath (I. M. no. 1536), contains the figures of four planets, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu. All are two-armed, the first three standing in graceful poses, while the fierce-looking Rāhu is shown only upto the breast with a grinning face, round protruding eyes, hair tied up in a bunch of spiral coils rising upwards ('piṅgalordhakeśa'). Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Śani have each a halo behind his head, and a rosary in his right hand, while the left hands of the first two hold a waterpot, Śani's left hand being broken ; there is thus a close correspondence between the 'Agni Purāṇa' description of these three planets and their representation in this interesting Sarnath relief. Ketu is absent in it, for there is no place for him after Rāhu whose hands holding the crescent moon are shown in the 'tarpaṇa mudrā'. The addition of Ketu to the group illustration seems to have been a comparatively late

feature. The lintel slabs of all the earlier Śiva temples of the Bhauma-Kara period contain only the figures of eight 'grahas', Ketu appearing only on the architraves of those of the Gaṅga period[1]. The Navagraha slabs in the collection of the V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi, usually show the 'grahas' standing side by side on double-petalled lotuses; they also seem to follow partially the 'Agni Purāṇa' account of the nine 'planets'. In some of these reliefs, the figure of Gaṇapati is carved by the side of the 'planets'. The huge Navagraha slab in the Konārak museum shows all of them seated inside miniature shrines with their respective emblems in their hands. A very fine sculpture found at Kankandighi (Khari, 24 pergannas, Bengal) and now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, shows the 'planets' standing in a line on lotus pedestals, holding their respective attributes in their hands with Gaṇeśa in front of the row, and their respective cognisances below. The beautifully designed long rectangular slab with the main figures inset in very high relief, appears to prove that the composition was probably a cult-object and not a door-piece, perhaps used in times of 'grahayāga'. Another unique sculpture which appears to have had the same use is the 'Navagraha-cakra' found among the ruins of Khiching (Mayurbhanj, Orissa). The twelve-spoked wheel (12 spokes perhaps stand for 12 months) rests on its side on a lotus pedestal; inside the broad rim are arranged the figures of the nine 'planets', Sūrya seated in the top centre, Rāhu and Ketu on either side in the bottom; on the sides are carved one above the other the six other seated 'grahas', three on each side, with indistinct objects in their hands; in the centre of the wheel is a three-faced (?), four-armed figure seated on a lotus in 'padmāsana' with its front hands in the 'dhyānamudrā', and the back hands carrying indistinct objects (it may stand for Brahmā, i. e., Dhātā or Vidhātā); flames are shown issuing from the rim of the wheel.

1. K. C. Panigrahi has drawn my attention to this interesting feature of the Bhuvaneswara temples. One other point of interest is that in the earlier slabs Bṛihaspati and Śukra are shown beardless, having a full-grown beard only in the later ones.

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE PLATES

(The accompanying plates illustrates some Viṣṇu and Sūrya images in J. I. S. O. A., Volumes XIII, XIV and XVI, and others of an allied character)

Pl. XIII (*a*).—Four-armed Āditya. Two left arms are broken, front right hand shown in 'vyākhyāna-mudrā' (expounding pose) holds a rosary, and the back right hand, a full blossomed lotus. Lotus-halo and stela partly broken. Head covered with well-arranged curls, neck has 'trivali' marks; the figure is tastefully decorated with such ornaments as ear-rings, necklace, armlets and bracelets ('aṅgada' and 'keyūra'), jewelled waist-girdle ('raśanā', mekhalā', or 'kāñcī-dāma') and scarf, a long garland ('vanamālā') and leglets ('mañ-jīra'); it has also a long sacred thread ('yajñopavīta') worn in the 'upavītī' fashion. Faint suggestion of the covering of the upper part of the torso, but the legs are bare. A staff and lotus carrying male figure (probably Daṇḍī) on the right, and a seated one partially obscured by an unrecognisable object (an ink-pot?—if so, the seated figure may be Kuṇḍī or Piṅgala, the pen and ink-pot carrying attendant of Sūrya) in its front, on the left. The pedestal is plain having no wheel-mark or the figures of Aruṇa and the seven horses. The last feature is typically south-Indian; but it must be remembered that it is an Āditya, not the Sūrya proper, and we may not expect all the features of the north-Indian type here. Certain novel traits in the main figure such as, its gracefully bent ('ābhaṅga') pose (Sūrya figures are almost invariably in straight frontal, i.e., 'samabhaṅga' pose), its 'vanamālā', the unusual mode of depicting the only two attendants, etc., are to be noted. It appears to stand for Dhātā, the first of the Ādityas described in p. 90. Another point to be noted in this relief is that the lotus-flowers are placed in the back hands. Central Indian, mediaeval.

Pl. XIII (*b*).—Four armed Viṣṇu from Taxila; for a detailed description of this figure, cf. J. I. S. O. A., Vol. XIII, p. 23.

Pl. XIV.—(*a*) The Nava-graha 'cakra' from Khiching, Mayurbhanj Orissa). It has been fully described in p. 100.

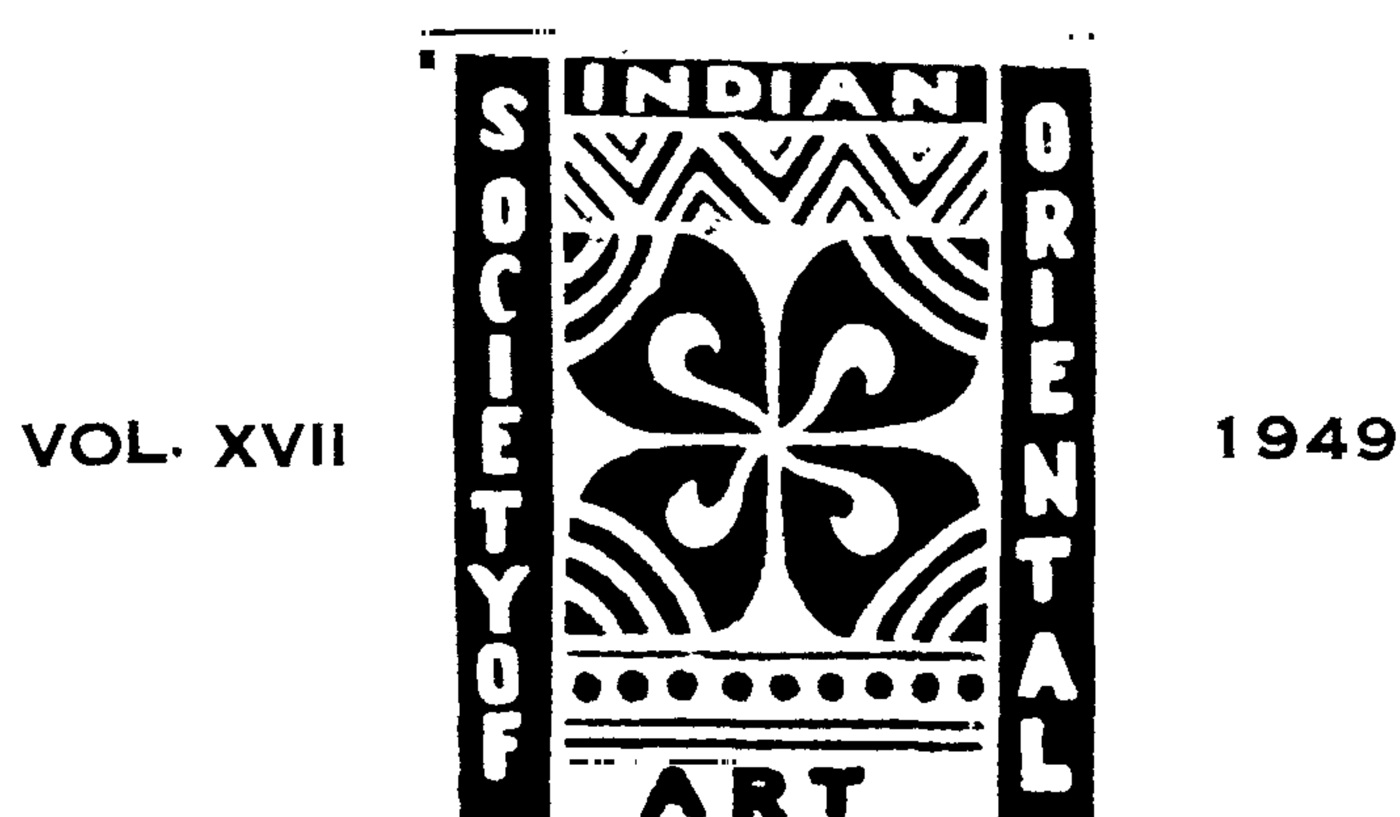
Pl. XIV (*b*).—Two-armed seated Sūrya in a chariot drawn by two (or really four, the two behind being obscured by the front ones) caparisoned horses being driven by Aruṇa shown below Sūrya. Staff or spear carrying Daṇḍī (if it be a spear, this attendant may stand for Skanda named in some texts as a companion of the sun god) on the right, the bearded figure of Kuṇḍī (or Sraosha) holding some indistinct objects (?pen and ink-pot) on the left. The 'Northerners dress' ('udīcyaveśa') of the main figure is fully emphasised by the close covering of the body and the booted legs of the god. A long scarf is tastefully arranged over the arms and in front of the figure; the hands with the lotuses are broken. The sitting posture of the god is reminiscent of the 'seated Sūrya' type of Mathura, but the style is distinctly late Hellenestic of the Gandhāra region. This very fine marble image of Sūrya was found in Afghanistan, and is now in the Kabul Museum. Date: c. 6th century A.D.

Pl. XV.—A well-executed East Indian variety of Sūrya image of the early mediaeval period in the Vaital Duel Temple, Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa). The god is tastefully decorated by a jwelled crown, well-arranged curls, necklace, bracelets, and a few other ornaments. The close covering of the body is suggested, but the legs are inserted in the chariot in the Kasipur or Deora Sūrya fashion (cf. pp. 80-81). The hands of the god hold two full blossomed lotus flowers. The arrow-shooting goddesses (Uṣā and Pratyuṣā) are on either side, and the driver Aruṇa in the middle holds the whip and the reins. The seven horses are carved on the pedestal.

Pl. XVI.—Head and upper part fo the torso of a mediaeval Sūrya image of northern India. The figure is profusely ornamented.

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AN EARLY PALA IVORY

by SHERMAN E. LEE

Until the finds of Hackin at Begram,[1] the Sanchi inscription referring to the ivory carvers of Vidiśā could have only a dream existence, a reference tempting yet aggravating to the imagination. The wealth of the Begram finds underlined the importance of media other than stone in the early art of India and one of the most precious of these media must have been ivory. Accustomed as we were to the horrors of the recent ivory "curious" from the bazaars of the East, it came as a pleasant awakening to find these precious remanants of a once great art. The late Andhra ivory found at Pompeii[2] added yet another fragment to the reality slowly appearing before us and also served to excite our wonder at the location of the find. Was it a precious gift or a common article of trade? The nature of the material itself should serve to answer the question for ivory has traditionally been coupled with gold, silver and precious stones as Oriental treasure fit for the bounty or ransom of a king.

The ivories of Begram and Pompeii are especially rewarding aesthetically since the medium itself lends its nature wholeheartedly to the sensuous spirituality of Indian art. The color and texture of the tusk adorn the carver's skill, aiding and abetting him to his goal more easily than the relatively unyielding stone. Only the best of the Indian sandstones and the greenish whitish marble like limestone of Amaravati approach the appeal of ivory as a material.

Between these very early ivories of the Andhra period and the later medieval productions of Rajput and Mughal India there exists a vacuum, unfilled so far as the writer knows, with any acceptable figural ivory, however small, save the chessman from the treasury of Charlemagne, presumably a work of the late eighth or early ninth century.[3] The ivory we now discuss seems to mark the second intrusion into this vacuum.[4] Luckily the intrusion is no mere fragment, but a relatively complete and monumental work of art on a miniature scale compatible with the medium.

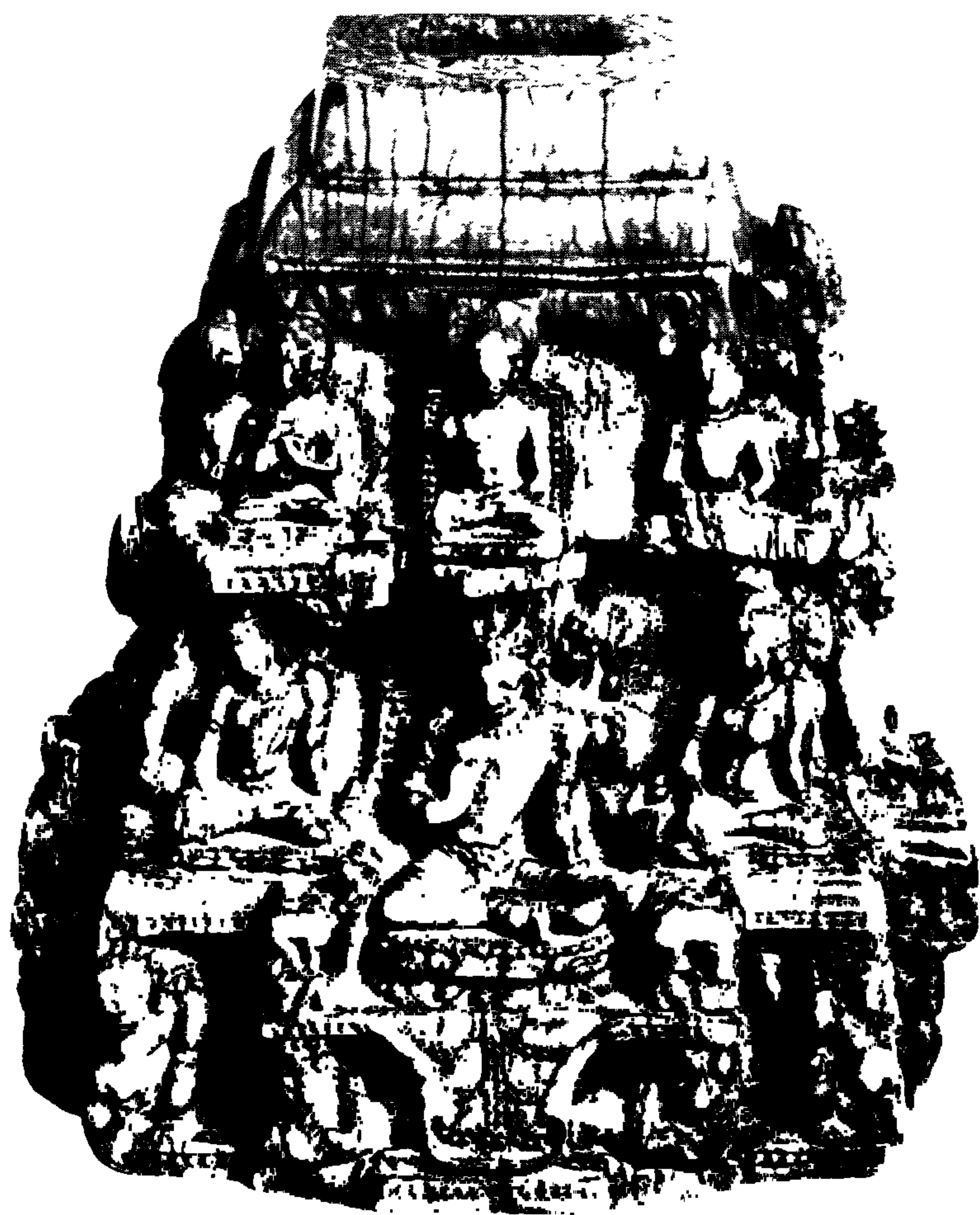
This ivory (Pls. I-II), now in the Seattle Art Museum, is conceived as an architectural form, a three-tiered stūpa with a modified cruciform cross-

section. The top is flat, a platform now empty, but with a square cut hole indicating former occupancy. This architecture, originally complete with columns, canopies, thrones and niches, is adorned with no less than fifty three figures, sixteen of them in animal form, the balance being various images in the Buddhist cosmogony. The compositional scheme is basically simple, but repeated until it appears complex.

The uppermost tier which we shall call the first zone consists of three Buddha images on each of the four sides. The central image on each side is slightly larger than the others and is further distinguished by a rectangular throne in addition to the circular halo. The second zone is somewhat more complicated and has three bejewelled images of male (or female) Bodhisattvas on each side. The central images, all masculine, are much larger than the side images and in addition are placed on a projecting and slightly depressed square backed throne with (originally) two standing attendants holding fly whisks. The third zone is still more complicated and consists of three units: the corners, supported by powerful dwarf-like figures; the centers or throne bases, on two sides, lion thrones with two small dwarfs above, on the other two sides, lotus thrones with dancing dwarfs for support and two small lions above; the spaces between center and corner, deeply recessed and each containing a supporting elephant indicated by trunk, head and ears only and these seen frontally. Each zone is separated from its companion by a simple beaded border which is also the characteristic ornament of halo and throne. The two columns remaining have capitals and bases and are of two types; one plain, the other ringed. Each of the four principal Bodhisattvas has a large lotus of varying form over and behind his left shoulder.

The material itself is of interest. The color varies from a rich deep brown of great depth and beauty to a creamy white. One side is somewhat discolored and has a chalky cast. The surface is covered with vertical cracks none of which is wide enough to disfigure the carving. The base shows wider cracks in a moderately ringed conformation radiating from the center, almost exactly similar to that of the Charlemagne ivory. In nearly all the faces of the images the ivory is worn from rubbing. Examination of the ivory under ultraviolet light reveals some of the damages and breakages to be quite old while a few are more fluorescent and appear to be of recent origin.

The material and descriptive factors having been disposed of, we are



now free to examine the heart of the matter. First, what is the meaning of this work of art? Second, what is its date and provenance? Because of the large number of figures involved we have used a bird's eye diagram (Pl. III) for explanation. The hand gestures, poses and other iconographical data for each image are indicated. In comparing these with available information we are able to identify most of the images as shown on the diagram.[5] The identity of the small Buddha images on either side of the Dhyānī Buddhas is questionable. There are two evident possibilities: the seven Mānuṣī, Buddhas and Maitreya, or Eight Scenes from the Life of Śākyamuni Buddha. Since the one figure without a halo in this group of eight appears to have a Nāga hood behind, it would seem possible that we have here the episode of the Buddha sheltered by the Nāga King rather than a representation of Maitreya. The other figures are in mudrās that can be equated with the seven other scenes and since the symbolic representation of these scenes by an apparently uniform series of seated figures is not uncommon in the black stone images and bronzes of Bengal, we have tentatively identified these eight figures with the Eight Scenes.[6] The dating suggested below would seem to confirm this guess. Of the eight principal images there is no doubt.

The lowest zone, complicated and with the animal or animal-like forms, represents the carnal or material world supported at the corners by "Atlantes", old earth deities (yakṣas) in grotesque form. The second zone, simpler, but bejewelled, is "between Heaven and Earth", the realm of the Bodhisattva. The first zone, simplest of all, is the realm of the Dhyānī Buddhas in Heaven or Paradise. The three-fold division is that of Dante's Commedia as well as that of Buddhism or Hinduism. The maṇḍala is not only organized vertically, but horizontally in the four directions, the cardinal points of the compass. In style as well each of the zones obeys its law of being. In the lowest zone, the dancing figures writhe, the lions snarl ; in the middle, the Bodhisattvas bend gracefully and compassionately : while above, the Buddhas display their hieratic and formal images. We have then a marvellous parallel to such an edifice as Borobudur in Java.[7] Our ivory is a true microcosm, a world maṇḍala in miniature.

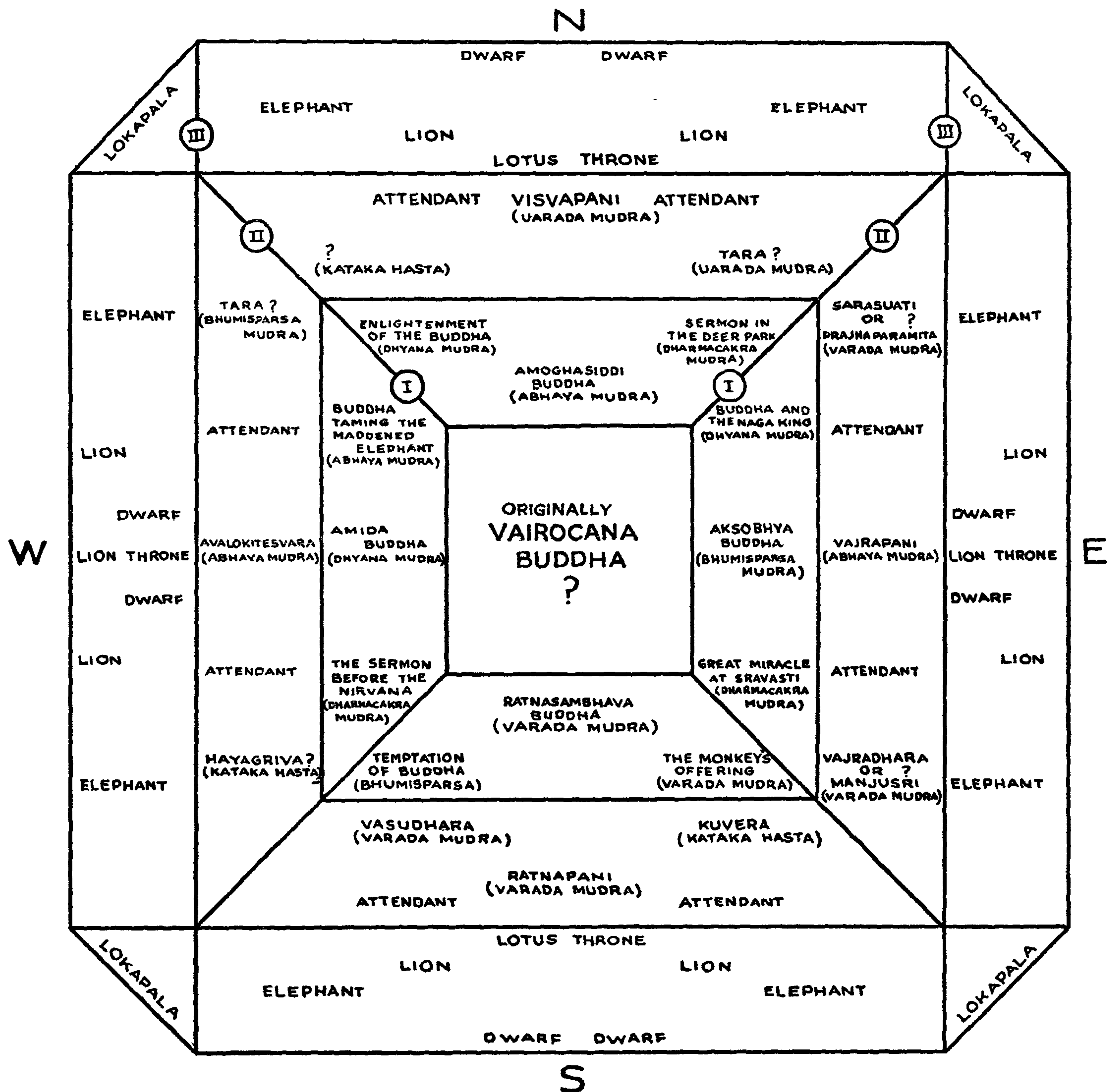
What of the top platform? The analogy with Borobudur aids us. for there, as in other maṇḍalas of Mahāyāna Buddhism, is the realm of essence itself, the Supreme Buddha, Vairocana. We can not prove He occupied the platform but it would appear likely. Nearly all fifty-three

figures fulfil the meaning of the puzzle and we may be excused for filling in the missing space with an imaginary but congruent shape.

The second question does not admit of so dogmatic an answer as the first. In style these figures are full of a lissom grace, their forms are rounded and pliant, their expressions are serene and with a smiling grace. There is no mistaking the origins of the style in the fully developed Gupta style of the sixth century A. D. However, it is a truism that the Gupta style persisted with only slight modification in the early Pāla period of Bengal and with slighter change in the ninth and tenth century art of Nepal. Iconography helps us a little here for the more complex esoteric forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism were apparently transmitted to Nepal and Tibet from Bengal. The subject matter of the ivory then would be especially appropriate for this latter region.

Certain hints can be gleaned from stylistic details. The elephants below, while appearing frontally with trunks lowered as at Ellora, are rather typical of Pāla art. The curious padmāsana posture of the legs, not one above the other, but side by side, can be found in early Pāla bronzes. The square thrones are prominent and their borders are simply beaded as in the murals of Ajanta, and the early sculptures of Pāla Bengal rather than elaborately carved with scroll patterns as in later Sena stones. The columns are very slender, again like some of those in the paintings of Ajanta. The general conformation is in harmony with that typical of early Pāla art. The Pāla type in large stones, even at its best, has a rigid effect. The limbs are rounded but the big shapes are not. In contrast the smaller images, especially in metal, continue the ease and grace of Gupta. The gentle poses of the Bodhisattvas in the second zone are directly descended from the classic example at Ajanta in Cave I which is probably seventh century, and at the beginning of the Medieval style. The Nepalese question permits a tentative answer. While Coomaraswamy aptly describes this Northern art as "retardataire",[8] and as embodying the best of Gupta as late as the ninth century, the three Nepalese examples known to this writer are markedly different in iconographic details such as halo and throne shapes from the ivory under discussion. They also seem somewhat less delicate and detailed in treatment. With no history of provenance or excavation to aid us in placing the ivory under consideration, we must therefore assign a probable ninth to tenth century date in Bengal.

Fortunately, we need not vacillate in describing the style of the ivory



ZONE	I	FOUR DHYANI BUDDHAS	HEAVEN
ZONE	II	FOUR DHYANI BODHISATTVAS	BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH
ZONE	III	LOKAPALA, ANIMALS	EARTH

as early Medieval at its best and of an aesthetic quality as remarkably high as the object itself is rare. Indeed this ivory maṇḍala is one of those unique objects which convey a compact and precious essence of a creative culture.

1. Hackin, J., *Recherches Archeologiques a Begram.* 2 Vol., Paris, 1939. Pl. 28 ff.
2. A. Maiuri, "Statuetta eburnea di arte indiana a Pompeii", *Le Arti,* I, 1938-39, pp. 111-115 ; M. L. D'ancona, "An Indian Statuette from Pompeii", *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 166-180.
3. See A Ghose, "Some Old Indian Ivories", in *Rupam,* No. 32, Oct. 1927, pp. 123-5. Nepalese ivories of medieval date are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C. (No. 288 Gellatly Coll.), and the Guarino Collection, Ascona, Switzerland. For the latter, see Salmony, A., *Artibus Asiae,* V.
4. Height: 4½ inches. Width: North to South, 4 inches. East to West, 4 inches. Weight; 33 oz. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
5. Getty, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism.* New York, 1928.
   Gordon, A., *Iconograhy of Tibetan Lamaism.* New York, 1939.
6. See for example the bronze votive stūpa, Plate VIII in A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nalanda,* Delhi, 1946.
7. Rowlands, B., "Barabudur", in *Art in America,* Vol. 29, pp. 114-127, Jl '41.
8. Coomaraswamy, A., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* New York, 1927, p 145.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PL. I-II. Ivory stūpa, Bengal, ninth or tenth century A.D.
Eugene Fuller Memorial Coll., Seattle Art Museum.
Views of three of its sides.

PL. III. Schematic diagram of the figures represented in the ivory.
Insert below. Jambhala, brone, in Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington.



THE JAIN TEMPLE ROOM IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

by W. NORMAN BROWN

History

In the years 1594-96, according to a preserved inscription, a certain Ratnakuṁyarajī, of the wealthy and well-known Jain clan named Osvāl, with, probably, his sister and daughter as collaborators, financed in Pāṭan,[1] ancient capital of Gujarat, the construction of a temple dedicated to Pārśva, twenty-third of the twenty-four Saviours (Tīrthaṅkaras) recognized by his faith. This he did under the advice of a Śvetāmbara pontiff, Jinacandrasūri VI of the Kharatara gaccha, on whom, says the inscription, the Mughal Emperor Akbar bestowed the title of "the most virtuous, glorious pontiff of the age" (*sattamaśrīyugapradhāna*).[2] This building came to be known as the Vāḍīpura—or Vāḍī-Pārśvanātha temple.

Either as part of the original structure or as a latter accretion, there was erected a small, elaborately carved wooden domed room, being the kind of architectural unit known as *maṇḍapa* ("porch, hall"), and this, which is now installed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Pls. IV-VI), is the subject of this paper. The incentive to build the temple was, of course, piety. A renewed urge of the same sort, over three hundred years later, led other Jains to dismantle the original relatively unpretentious temple complex and replace it with a more expensive edifice, made of stone and finished inside with marble, producing, we may hope, a notable entry of merit on its patrons' account in the great cosmic ledger and so leading to happy rewards in future existences.

The older room was the more interesting and more beautiful of the two, and by a bit of good fortune, possibly due to virtuous acts in some previous life, two Americans, Mr. Robert W. de Forest and Mr. Lockwood de Forest,

[1] Otherwise known as Aṇahilavāḍa-Pattana.

[2] See description of this temple in James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Volume IX), 1903, pp. 49-51, Plates IV, XX, XXI.

some time after the dismantling, in 1916 acquired the room just mentioned, and then laid up, or presumably laid up, further rewards in some future rebirth by giving it to the Metropolitan Museum. It was installed and opened to the public in 1919, and has now the double distinction of being, first, one of the two Indian temple rooms on exhibition in the United States —the other is a pillared stone hall from Madura in the Philadelphia Museum of Art[3]—and, second, perhaps the finest ensemble of Indian wood-carving outside its native land.

There must, however, have been a flaw in the de Forests' merit, because they never saw the temple while standing at its original site and so did not get certain basic information which would have been useful for the museum installation. But luckily two members of the Archaeological Survey of India did, Dr. James Burgess in 1869 and Mr. Henry Cousens in 1886-87. They published a photograph, two drawings, and a brief description of the room.[4] But unfortunately, again, somewhere along the line, merit was imperfect, for the account which they published was both brief and at certain vital points insufficient. They did not describe the temple complex as a whole, nor did they indicate the relative position of this room or explain its function. Most of their report concerns the inscription mentioned above, which, they say, was preserved on a slab "built into the wall of the principal maṇḍapa" of the temple. This allusion, whose brevity must have seemed to them unimportant, is to us tantalizing. Was the room or porch now in the Metropolitan Museum the "principal maṇḍapa" or not? If not, what was it and what was its purpose? And was it built at the time mentioned in the inscription? For lack of a sentence or two we are left to conjecture about the full significance of the inscription. But the architectural data which the two authors explicitly left us are of great value, and I shall refer to it frequently in the rest of this paper.

Wood-carving in Gujarat

Wood-carving, as so skillfully illustrated in this room, is widespread in Gujarat and nearby, and may be an art of long standing there. It is often found on doorways of private houses, mouldings, cornices, balconies, façades. It appears frequently inside small temples, where it is fully

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[3] Published by W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia, 1940.

[4] See footnote No. 2.

painted; a few traces of paint are visible on the Metropolitan's room. The intricate wood-carving of the region seems to be imitated in the interior marble decorations of such temples as those at Mount Abu, where the stone is as delicately and minutely worked as the wood in our *maṇḍapa*.

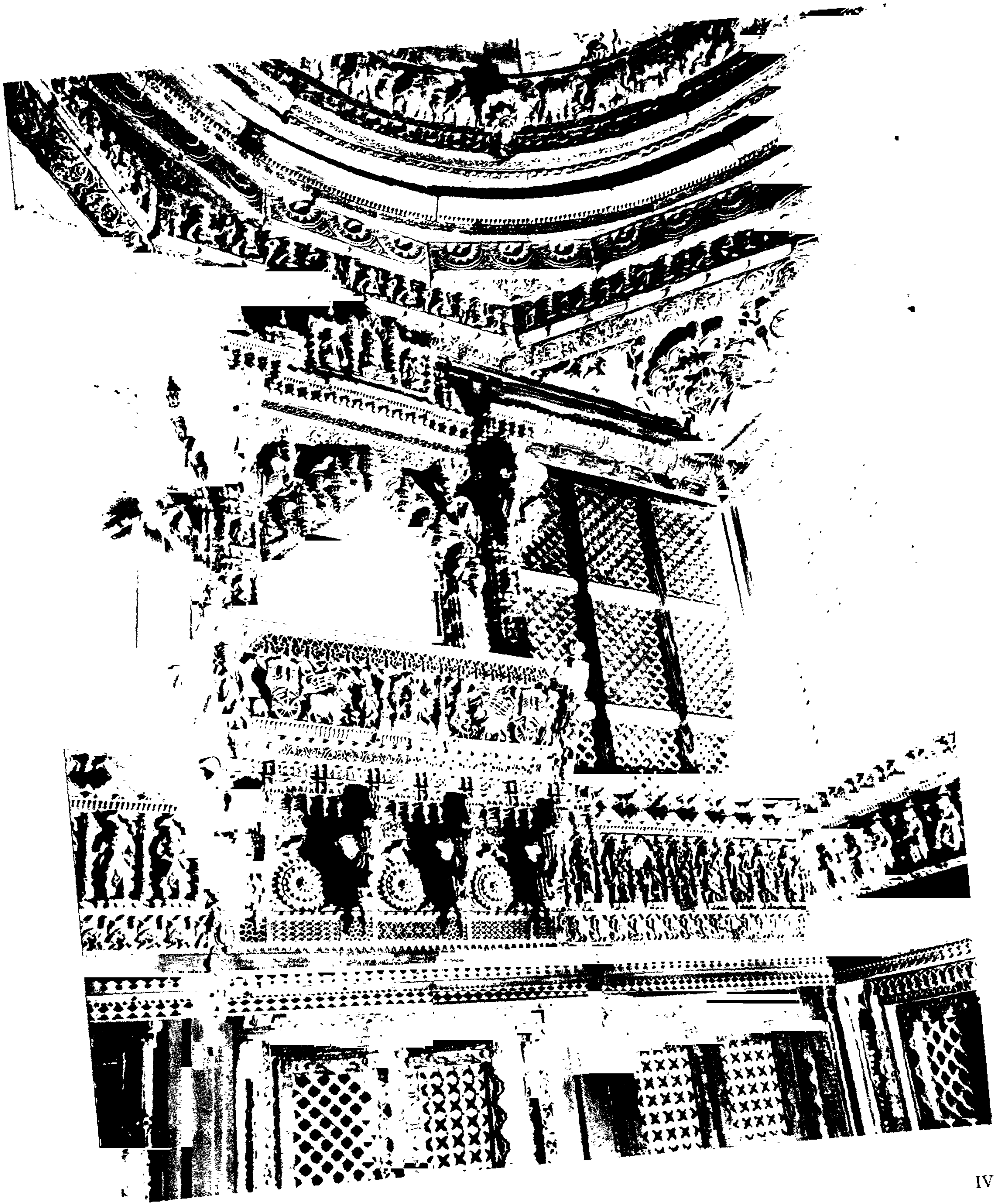
But though wood is abundantly used in Gujarat and many examples of fine wood-carving exist, few whole wooden temples or even temple rooms are now known. One which is similar to this but less satisfactory to study was acquired by the Baroda Museum in 1947, and as now installed is described by Dr. H. Goetz and Mr. U. P. Shah in the "Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery", vol. VI, pts. 1-2, 1948-49, pp. 1-30, with 60 figures on XXIV plates. The latter room has a central portion, about the size of the Metropolitan's *maṇḍapa*, and two wings. It has a complex history, being composed of pieces of varying date and diverse provenience, finally assembled by someone, probably a wealthy Jain layman, who used it in his house. The Metropolitan's room, being a whole but for some figures removed after the dismantling, and having all been executed in a single period, is a rarity even in India, and the excellence of the carving makes it a most valued possession. Only as recently as 1939 the then Director of Archaeology for the Baroda State, in which lies the city of Pāṭan where the Metropolitan's room was constructed, printed in his annual report a lament that this had been exported from India.[5] The carving of the room is deep and crisp; the figures full of action and life; the composition careful though traditional. All is filled with joyous devotion; it is a fitting memorial of the Jain religion.

Construction

The original structural features of the room are clear from the archaeological officers' report and the elements of the room as they can be seen in the Metropolitan Museum. It was built on a very simple skeleton, consisting of four corner posts a little more than five feet high and set a little more than eleven feet apart, over whose tops extended beams or lintels. The corner posts rose from the level of the ground outside, but the level of their base was not the level of the inside floor. This was, instead, a little less than two feet lower. Inside the posts was a ledge or walkway about fifteen

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[5] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State for the year ending 31st July, 1938* (Baroda State Press, 1939), p. 15 and plate XII. The Director, Dr. Hirananda Sastri, thought only one balcony was involved, not a whole room. For some other examples of wood carving from Northern Gujarat, see Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, plates XXXVI and XLVI.



IV

or sixteen inches wide, which ran around all four sides of the room, and at the inside edge of this was a straight drop of about twenty or twenty-one inches to the floor, which was, therefore, sunk that distance below the outside ground level. Mr. Cousens' drawing shows this feature plainly.

The straight perpendicular sides of the room were about five and a quarter feet high, and were originally open to the air all the way around. There was no doorway. The way to enter the room was to step on the walkway inside the corner posts, and then step down to the floor. To do so one had to bend a little on coming to the walkway and then lift one's feet carefully over the low railing on the inside of it as one stepped down to the floor level. The awkwardness of this procedure led to confusion when the room was installed in the Metropolitan.

In the center of each side of the room was a balcony (Pl. IV) projecting inwards, and the rear posts of the balcony served with the corner posts to support the superstructure. The pediments of the balconies were upheld by front posts and struts, and the balconies were supported from below by brackets. These elements and beams were all richly carved in higher relief (Pl. VI). The drop from the walkway to the floor was faced with a dado, which was also elaborately decorated.

The dome construction began above the lintels connecting the corner posts. First, an octagonal course was imposed upon the basic square, cutting off the corners and leaving squinches, which were then embellished with carving. Above the octagonal course was then laid a sixteen-sided course, which cut off the angles of the octagon. Rings were then raised on this latter course, diminishing in diameter and corbelling inwards. A center element with a large pendant bound the parts of the dome together (Pl. V). Externally also the room was finished as a dome. The whole is similar to parts of many stone temples of Gujarat and lower Rajputana, notably those of the Jains at Girnar, Śatruñjaya, Mount Abu.

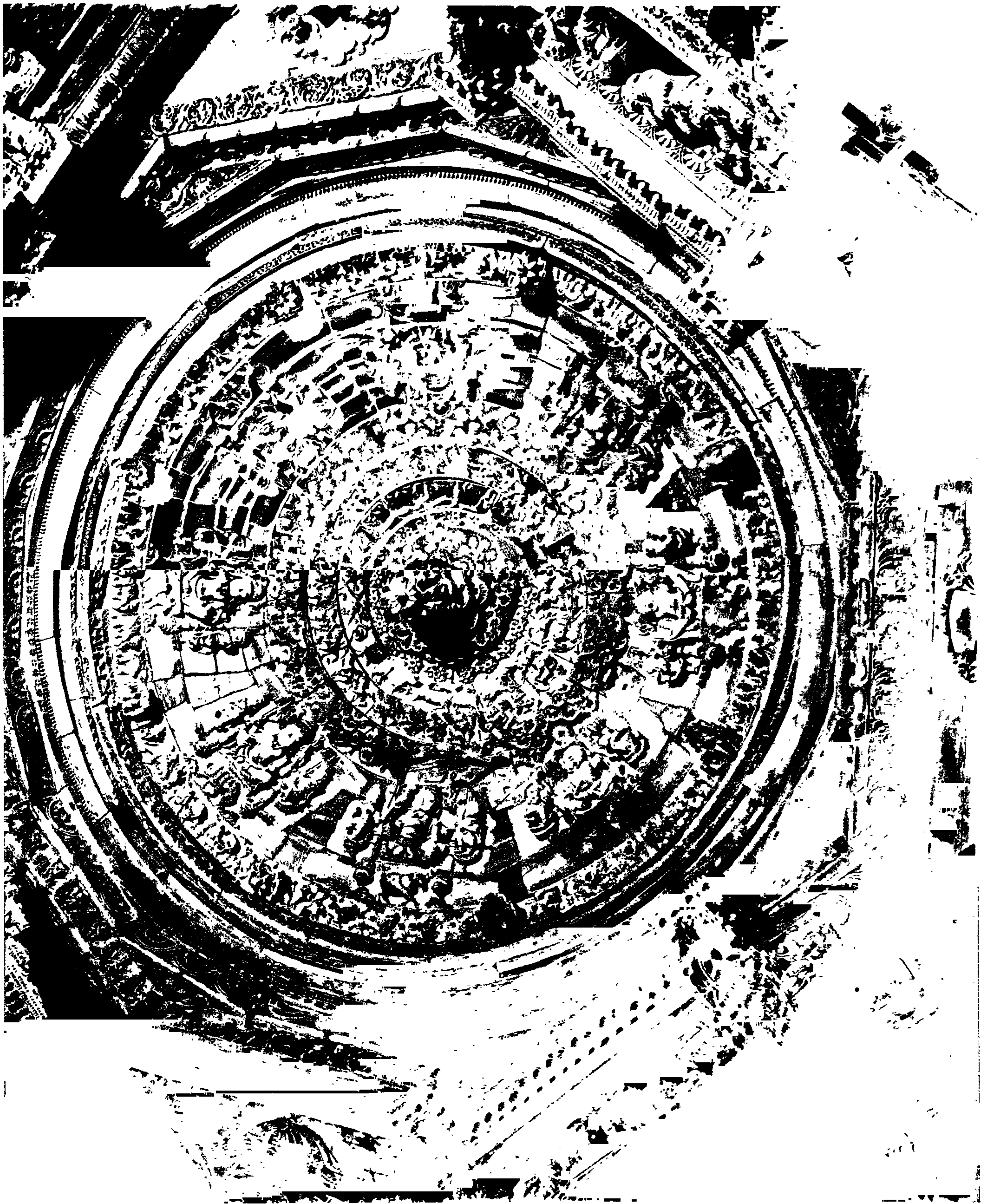
When the room was constructed, the sides were left open, as is the case with similar elements in stone temples, but at some later time an iron grating with a mesh of about an inch and a quarter was introduced in the sides to keep out bats, swallows, and pigeons, which are a common nuisance in Indian temples. The published photograph shows a balcony (now installed in the Metropolitan at the east), and the drawings exhibit the cross-section and the ceiling.

When installing the room the Museum staff was baffled. It could see no obvious logic in a room which was so inconvenient to enter and to use. The Museum, therefore, rationalized the structure by giving it a lower part, which in effect amounted to another story, making the room high and narrow and rendering it practically impossible for any ordinary human neck to bend far enough backward to let one see the ceiling. The addition, like the room, was composed of carved wooden elements from Gujarat and Jain in their subject matter, but the wood was of a different kind, the carving was of a different style, and the two major parts of the reconstruction had never been together until they reached New York.

The Museum was quite frank in stating what it had done and why. When it opened the room to the public, it published in its "Bulletin" (January, 1919) a note signed "J.B." (Joseph Breck), telling something of the room's history ; referring to the publication by Burgess and Cousens, and also remarking, "Unfortunately, neither the drawings nor the photograph [that published by Burgess and Cousens] show the structure below the frieze [meaning the dado] nor give the ground plan of the temple ; but presumably the structure was borne upon columns, thus permitting access to the Shrine and other halls."

The presumption, however, was incorrect, and the reconstruction is unjustified. First, the addition of a lower section destroys the proportions of the original. These domed rooms from temples in Gujarat—and a number have been published[6]—are regularly constructed on the basis of a cube with the upper corners rounded off. This room was originally about eleven and a half feet in each dimension, and the length and breadth are that now. But the height of the reconstruction is about eighteen feet, or half as much again as it should be. Secondly, the drawing shows clearly that the room was built at ground level. Thirdly, the photograph, when carefully examined, shows beyond the grille, at the left of the balcony, faintly yet unmistakably discernible, a man standing on the outside ground or pavement, peering curiously within, looking very much like somebody's chaprassi. His feet are at about the level of the ledge or walkway which runs around the inside of the room. The photograph also shows, just inside the dado, a few inches of the original floor. There can be no doubt that the

[6] See Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, plates XLVIII, XLIX, L for an especially elaborate example at Modrera.



room was complete without a sub-structure, that it was erected at ground level and had sunken floor, and that it was not meant for passage but had to be passed around.

In the reconstruction there is a wooden grille in place of the adscititious iron grille mentioned above, which kept out bats, swallows, and pigeons. The present grille is evidently otiose, since the Metropolitan Museum does not appear to be bothered by such pests.

Original position and function

Though Burgess and Cousens fail to state explicity the position of this room in the total temple ensemble and its function, we may make deductions on these points with a fair degree of confidence. We may start by referring to the main features of temples in Gujarat.[7] There, as is general in India, the essential part is the cell or shrine called *garbha* ("womb interio") or *garbhagṛha* ("womb-house"), which houses the image of the deity or, with the Jains, the Tīrthaṅkara who is being honored. This usually has only one opening, the door. Above the cell is a ceiling or false roof, over which in temples of any pretensions rises a spire (*śikhara*). All this is called the *vimāna* ("celestial car", "palace") of the god, and it may in itself constitute the entire temple. Usually, however, there are additional elements. Before the *vimāna* may be a *maṇḍapa* ("porch, hall"), which may be either open on the sides or enclosed by walls. In a temple of any size at all this has columns. When the porch has enclosed sides it is called *antarāla* ("passage way") or *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* ("enclosed porch"). In front of this frequently appears, especially in large temples, another *maṇḍapa* serving for groups of people to use in various connections indicated by the names applied to it, which are *sabhāmaṇḍapa* ("assembly hall"), *raṅgamaṇḍapa* ("theatrical hall"), *nṛtyaśālā* ("dance hall"). This may be attached to the temple structurally or may stand independently of it in front. When it is without walls it may be known as an *ākāśamaṇḍapa* ("open-air hall")[8]. In a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* the ceiling is frequently a heavily carved dome, as in the example in the Vimalasahi temple on Mount Abu, which has as its chief theme the sixteen Jain *Vidyādevīs*[9], or in the detailed example at Kanoḍā or that at

[7] For the Indian temple in general see Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1946. For temples in Gujarat, see Burgess and Cousens, *op cit.*, pp. 21-32, from which the material following in this paper is drawn.

[8] See Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 21-7, 257.

[9] See Muni Vidyāvijaya, *Ābū*, Sirohi, 1933, p. 64.

Moḍherā.[10] There are many modifications of temple plans, with variation in the relative size, shape, and situation of elements, and with the addition in some large temples of still other accessory units.[11]

To identify the purpose of the Metropolitan's *maṇḍapa*, we may note three points. First, Cousens' drawing clearly indicates that it was free-standing. Second, Burgess and Cousens in referring to the long inscription say that it was "built into the wall of the principal maṇḍapa of this temple". Since the only part of the temple which they describe is the porch (*maṇḍapa*) which we are discussing, it seems clear that if the inscription had been on it, they would have said so explicitly. In referring to the principal porch, they must have been referring to another than this ; that would have been the *maṇḍapa* just before the *vimāna*, which in any case would have been the natural place to set an inscription. Third, the Metropolitan's being awkward to pass through, would not have been meant to give access to the shrine. It was to be passed around except when being put to its own special use. We may conclude, I think with assurance, that the room was constructed as a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* ("assembly hall") open to the air.

Our *maṇḍapa* may have been erected at the same time as the main shrine or at a later time, and either by the same patrons or by some other. There is no way to determine this point with complete certainty. It could have been a separate expression of religious feeling by some sincere soul who set it up, a small jewel of a building, edifying to enter and behold, commemorating some specific occasion for gratitude to the superhuman powers or celebrating some pious purpose happily achieved. In it the patron and his family or some other small group might on occasion have entertained a distinguished monk to have the blessing of listening to his discourse or have had the Scripture recited at a festival season or have viewed a dance in honor of some exalted figure or have engaged in some other profitable exercise. It scarcely seems likely to have had frequent and regular use.

Date

In view of the remarks made just above it is evident that there is no positive and unequivocal evidence about the date of the *maṇḍapa*. Burgess

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[10] See Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff., 110 f., plates VII, XLVII, XLVIII, XII; cf. also p. 108, plates LXXXII, LXXXIV, LXXXVI.

[11] See Burgess and Cousens, *Passim*.

and Cousens in discussing the *maṇḍapa* refer to the inscription and imply that they consider the dates which it gives as applying to the whole temple including this part of it. The inscription says that the construction was begun "in the reign of the Pādishāh, the illustrious Akabbara, in the year 1651 after the era of the illustrious king Vikrama, on the 9th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, on the civil day Monday, under the lunar asterism Pūrvabhadrā, in a propitious hour." This is equivalent to November 11, 1594.[12] The image was consecrated on May 13, 1596. But, as is intimated above, the *maṇḍapa* may have been built later than the *vimāna* and its porch. To answer the problem of the date, therefore, we must seek other criteria than the inscription. There are a few which may be used. One is the headdress worn by Tīrthaṅkaras. This is either a triple-tiered parasol or crown, such as appears in illustrated Jain manuscripts of the 16th century,[13] or a crown with points of varied length or a parasol, such as appear in manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries but cannot be absolutely denied for the late 16th century. Further, the goddess Lakṣmī and her attendants, who are shown on the parapets of the balconies, wear crowns with flaring points, such as are assigned by Goetz and Shah to the 16th and 17th centuries.[14] Again, the bullock carts on the parapets compare with one shown by Goetz and Shah, though it is more elaborate and has four wheels, and assigned by those authors to the late 16th century.[15]

If the *maṇḍapa* was carved later than the dates in the inscription, the time seems unlikely to have been much later. It seems that we should take it to be of about the beginning of the 17th century.

Iconography

When the room was constructed, it is likely that the architect and his patrons, or patron, had some overall unifying principle in the iconography. This we may try to deduce.

The temple of which it was a part commemorated Pārśva, the twenty-third of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, but as a *maṇḍapa* it did not house an image, and the theme of the carvings is not Pārśva or any series of circumstances relating to him, nor is it concerned with the Tīrthaṅkaras as

12 Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f.

13 Cf. W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paitings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*. Washington. 1934, fig. 101.

14 Goetz and Shah, *op. cit.*, figs. 24, 27, 28, 30, 59.

15 Goetz and Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

a whole. Those representations of Tīrthaṅkaras which occur in the room are in a secondary position. They are four, appearing in the pediments of the balconies, and are not easy to identify, since the characteristic marks (*lāñchana*) which differentiate Tīrthaṅkaras are here damaged. They seem to be as follows: in the eastern balcony (as now installed) Ṛṣabha, with his bull; in the southern, Ṛṣabha, with bull; in the western, Ṛṣabha, with bull; in the northern, Śānti with deer. All four are shown as perfected souls (*siddha*) in Īṣatprāgbhāra at the top of the universe.[16] There they exist as pure and incorporeal soul, and hence have no resemblance to anything material, whether animate or inanimate. But to symbolize them, and only for the purpose of symbolism, they are shown through the medium of the human body. The human body does not depict them; it only suggests them. When the Śvetāmbaras so symbolize their Saviours, they show them arrayed, ornamented, and crowned as kings, with royal parasols overhead, and flanked by attendants bearing fly-whisks and waterpots. A temporal world-conqueror would be similarly presented, and we may recall that according to Jain mythology each of the twenty-four Saviours could have had such a worldly career if he had not elected instead to follow the religious life and become a Jina ("Conqueror") in the spiritual struggle. In this room the Jinas appear to be incidental to the main iconographic themes.

The main themes deal with lower goals than the difficult spiritual victory achieved by the Perfected Beings. They are, instead, the aims of creatures reconciled to remaining for an indefinite period in the transient phenomenal universe, where they are bound by the action of the senses and destined, therefore, to experience innumerable rebirths in the revolving *saṁsāra* ("round of existence"). Such beings are satisfied with the temporary goals of prosperity, joy, and protection from evil, and these are the themes of the carving in the *maṇḍapa*. They are illustrated in a heavenly environment, and in an earthly. The creatures seeking and enjoying them or aiding mortals to enjoy them or to commemorate them are divinities and their attendants, human beings, and possibly some subterranean entities.

Protection from evil is the chief motif of the dome. Its hemisphere represents the vault of heaven, which meets the square earth at its circum-

[16] Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, figs. 81, 100, 114, 128.

ference,[17] reaches to some great height at the zenith above us, and encompasses the activities of men and gods. It features carvings of the eight deities whose function it is to guard the universe at the cardinal and intermediate directions so that it may be free of molestation from any evil forces. The idea is a common one to all Indian faiths. It stems from the old notion of the Ṛg Veda that the universe operates, or should operate, in conformity with a body of cosmic law called the *ṛta*, which when fully observed insures its equilibrium or harmony. Unfortunately, there exist forces contrary to the *ṛta*, characterized as *anṛta*, which are constantly endeavouring to enter the universe of gods and men and disrupt its orderly cycle. These are demons (*yakṣas*) and beings whom they induce to do their will. The gods are continually engaged in repelling these evil forces, and men have the duty of assisting the gods, chiefly through due celebration of the sacrifice. In post-Vedic India the need for protection is formally recognized by designating certain gods, most of whom already appear in the Veda, as world protectors (*lokapāla, dikpāla, vāstudevatā*). They defend against evil intruding from the horizontal directions, either at the four cardinal points of the compass or at eight. They need not watch the nadir which is protected by the Earth goddess (*pṛthivī, bhūmi, bhū*), nor the zenith, which appears to need no protection, since the only opening in it, in Vedic mythology, appears to be that "straight path" (*sādhu pathi;* cf. RV 10.14.10) that leads to the realm of the gods and the blessed dead, where no evil is ever found. Protection by the Direction Guardians is invoked in India in many circumstances. At the dedication of a building in Gujarat, for example, as one of the final ceremonies, the master craftsman with attendants and a priest or two mounts a platform raised on a high scaffolding and calls to the regents of the eight airts. In Jain temples these same figures often appear on the domed ceiling of a *maṇḍapa*. This is the case with the Metropolitan's carved room. To start at the east, which is the normal point of departure in India, and box the eight points of the compass, the deities with their vehicles (*vāhanas*) in the original construction were:[18]

East: Indra and elephant

Southeast: Agni and ram (looking, however, more like a goat or deer)

South: Yama with buffalo (from some views looking like a horse)

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[17] Cf. Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 29.

[18] In the Metropolitan's installation these have been moved backward two places.

Southwest: Nirṛti with dog
West: Varuṇa with boar
Northwest: Vāyu or Marut with gazelle
North: Kubera with elephant
Northeast: Īśāna with bull

Each deity is set in an architectural niche and is flanked by two attendants. In many cases distinguishing attributes have been broken off. Between these eight gods originally stood eight female figures, but these were already disposed of before the room was acquired for the Museum, and the pieces of wood on which they were carved have now been replaced by blank substitutes. We can get a rough idea of them from Cousens' drawings of the dome. They may have been meant for heavenly women (*apsaras* or *surasundarī*) or more probably the Direction Maidens (*dikkumārī*), who are fifty-six in number and assist at various important functions, such as the heavenly bathing of the future Tīrthaṅkara when born on earth for his last existence.[19] They stood on lotuses, which are still preserved, and play musical instruments (lute, both single-bowled and double-bowled, flute, drum, cymbals, flute), and danced.

Ancillary to the main figures in the dome and their attendants were other figures, human, animal, and hybrid in form, and a profusion of auspicious vegetation designs.

The most conspicuous position occupied by any of these was on the pendant, which was decorated with eight figures of female musicians and dancers, again likely to be either *apsarases* or *dikkumārīs*.

Next to the pendant is a ring of conventionalized flowers, then a ring of animals—lion, tiger, elephant, cow, camel, horse, buffalo, deer, bird, snake, mongoose, *śarabha* (lion's body with elephant's trunk), another hybrid consisting of quadruped's body with a bird's head. Some are suckling young; others may be engaged in fight—*śarabha* with lion, lion with elephant, snake with mongoose. These various creatures perhaps represent the animal world as it is considered to exist in the heavens.

The next ring consists of musicians whose instruments are drums, lutes (*vīṇā*), trumpets, flutes, cymbals. One has a horn with a bend like a saxophone. Many of the musicians have bird's legs and tail on a human

[19] Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f. These female figures hardly seem likely to represent the *Vidyā devīs*, which are shown in other *sabhāmaṇḍapas* (cf. footnote 9 above).

torso, or a bull's head or monkey's head and tail on a human torso, and are, therefore, *kiṁnaras* ("what sort of man", "near-man").

Outside this ring is a ring of conventionalized flowers. Then come the main figures, already mentioned, and below them is a ring of elephants in procession. Under these are suspended the eight conventionalized lotuses on which originally stood the eight female figures now missing, which may be meant to represent the Direction Maidens. On a level with these flowers is another ring of musicians, playing a variety of instruments, and singers. Beneath this are the other ring-courses of the dome, showing conventionalized vegetation decoration. Next, below the lowest ring is a sixteen-sided course carved with three half-lotuses to a side. Then appears an eight-sided course in two registers, of which the upper contains sixty-four male figures seated, each holding a jar or a rosary. Though these have only two hands each, it is possible that they represent the sixty-four Indras. In each side with its eight male figures are nine attendant fly-whisk bearers, many of whom are in dance poses. The lower register has an elaborate foliage design. In each of the squinches under the cross pieces at the room's four corners was an elaborate floral design ending in the corner in a *kīrtimukha* ("glory face"). These are now all badly damaged, but one has two *kiṁnaras* playing flutes and two *makaras* (sea monster) standing upright on their curled tails, with bodies twisted as in the dance. The decoration of the squinches seems to end the representation of heavenly regions. All there has been joyousness rendered secure by the protection of the Direction Guardians with probably the accompanying Direction Maidens.

Below the squinches we come to a representation of the four-square earth, and there the significant subject matter is treated in the carvings of the balconies. Each of these is an elaborate architectural unit surmounted by a pediment in which is seated a Tīrthaṅkara as a perfected being, flanked by attendants. The structural elements are heavily decorated with jars and other lucky symbols. But the most important feature of each is the parapet which has as its theme adoration of the goddess Lakṣmī. She is the dispenser of prosperity, especially worshipped by merchants, and therefore supremely favored by the Jain community. Her annual festival in the autumn, when shopkeepers close their accounts, people pay their debts, and the prudent worship the rupee, bears the name of Dīvālī (Skt. *dīpāvali* "row of lights"), and with Jains it not only honors the goddess but also

marks the entry into complete *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, the last of their twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, (Saviours), which they say occurred on this day.[20]

The central figure in each balcony carving is clearly this goddess Lakṣmī, because the four hands hold her regular attributes. In the upper ones are lotuses; in the lower are a rosary and a small jar. Still more, two elephants stand beside and above her, sprinkling her with water from their trunks. Her seat is regularly a lotus, not shown here as a seat, but appearing triply in the dado, below, and she symbolizes the productive earth resting upon the cosmic waters, while the clouds, represented by the two elephants, send down the fructifying rain.

In the different balconies, the figures which accompany the goddess vary. In that now at the north they are female musicians and dancers, crowned as she is, some of them playing the *vīṇā,* the Indian lute. At each end is a lay figure holding a rosary and leaning upon a long bamboo staff, which in India is still a common weapon. He is perhaps a pious warder.

In the present eastern balcony fly-whisk bearers attend the goddess, while musicians blow trumpets, and girls with joined hands dance around a tree, probably meant for the *tulasī,* or basil, which is sacred to Lakṣmī.[21] Here seems to be a reference to one of Lakṣmī's autumn harvest festivals, when there is feasting, and young girls dressed in white sing and dance.

In each of the other balconies the accompanying carving is of two ox-carts (over one is a bird) and their drivers with small figures seated in their passenger's compartments dressed as monks preaching, but surely not really monks, since the latter are fobidden to travel on land in vehicles. These scenes suggest a custom of wealthy pious Jains to go on pilgrimages and to finance large parties of accompanying pilgrims.[22] Such a layman usually takes a monk's vows temporarily, travels on foot, and goes to Mount Śatruñjaya in Kathiawar, about 150 miles from Pāṭan, where our *maṇḍapa* was constructed. Śatruñjaya is sacred to Ṛṣabha, first of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the present world-cycle, who died there. It is he who seems to be represented in the pediments of those balconies whose parapets show the carts. At the top of Mount Śatruñjaya is a fortress filled with temples, of

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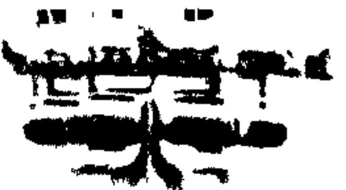
[20] Cf. W. Norman Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[21] Cf. Goetz and Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 27.

[22] For a painted cloth depicting such pilgrimages, now owned by the Brooklyn Museum of Art, see an article by W. Norman Brown in *Art and Thought* (Studies in Honour of A. K. Coomaraswamy), pp. 68-72.

VI





which the chief is dedicated to Ṛṣabha. Pilgrims who can afford the price may ride around this shrine in a silver cart, thus putting a perfect finish on the sanctified journey.

In the two balcony scenes showing carts the attendants standing at the ends hold fly-whisk and water jar, as did the attendants flanking the Saviours in the pediments. The pillars beside the goddess Lakṣmī appropriately enough terminate with the vessel of plenty.

The floor of the balconies is at the same level as the walkway around the interior of the room and was originally, as has been indicated, at the level of the ground outside. Between the walkway and the sunken floor is the dado. The drop to a level below the surface of the ground may signify that this, the lowest part of the structure, represents that part of the subterranean world which is just below the earth's surface and above the hells. Here dwell the eight classes of kindly creatures known as the *Vyantara* gods, who are custodians of the treasure within the earth and are known sometimes in Jain texts as *sajjana,* literally "good folk". In a well-ruled city filled with righteous people they spread their treasures abundantly. As appearing in our carving they are male and female; some carry jars, presumably full of riches; some have weapons, swords and battle axes; some are attendants bearing fly-whisks ; some beat drums ; some dance.

On the same level with these figures are lotuses shown in three medallions below each balcony, possibly to represent the earth as Lakṣmī's seat, resting upon the cosmic waters.

Underneath the row of figures is a procession of *haṁsas,* each carrying a spray of leaves or a flower bud in its beak. Below the lotuses and in the same register with the *haṁsas* are panels of *jālī* ("network"), wood pierced in delicate geometric designs.[23] Underneath this register were originally further carved wooden courses, a few inches in height, which can be seen in the Archaeological Survey's photograph but are missing from the Museum installation.

The dado is surmounted by a low railing which broders the walkway. It consists of a repeated motif common as an ornament on Jain buildings,

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[23] Comparison of the installation of the balconies in the Museum with the photograph of a balcony when in situ published by Burgess and Cousens shows that the pierced wooden panels belonging originally to it are now under another balcony. The pieces of the dado originally on the two sides of the balcony have also been placed elsewhere : so, too, the beam of the octagon originally above the balcony has been moved to some other place.

which is highly conventionalized but may perhaps have one of two origins. It may be a geometric or even foliage motif from Islamic art, since many such items appear in Western India after the Muslims established themselves there. The other possibility is that it derives from the vase of plenty which is well known in Jain symbolism. In late times this is shown in a kind of cusped niche which frames it.[24] Between the separate examples of this motif are shown pots with sprigs of some plant whose leaves grow in threes.[25] The significance of the motif seems in any case to be good fortune.

Interpretation

What now is the general content of the carving which decorates the room: Taking together the ideas illustrated in the dome, on the balconies, and on the dado, we may find in this room, I think, an epitome of practical Jainism for a well-to-do pious layman. He knows and lauds the great goal of salvation which those mighty Victors, the twenty-four Jinas, have won, and the others of the Perfected Beings. He recognizes the importance of the shrine at the rear of the temple which honors one of them, the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva. But few indeed are those who have ever attained such success. He knows that he could not become one of them. He is more modest in his pretensions and aspirations; he must be content with something less lofty, less abstract, less difficult. And so he does not frequent that cell which points to salvation in the non-phenomenal world. Rather, he stops in the phenomenal universe to make the most of it, and in it he takes his seat under the well-guarded vault of heaven. No harm will come to him, thanks to the vigilance of the Direction Guardians. He may even hope, by virtuous living, appropriate alms-giving, reverence to the holy ones, abstinence from killing and other vices, and the practise of not too severe austerities, to check the worst effects of *karma* and cultivate good ones, and some day himself win to a celestial abode where he will hear the divine music and enjoy the divine pleasure. That is his highest expectation. Meanwhile, whatever may be his lot in the unpredictable future, he can count with some more assured hope upon the best that life can give in the here and now. Lakṣmī has favoured him with the wealth to achieve expensive pilgrimages, erect costly

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[24] Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 28, 152. For a late example see Helen Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Vol. I, *Ādīśvaracaritra* (Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. II, 1931); plate IV.

[25] Cf. Goetz and Shah, plate I, fig. 1; plate VI, fig. 19; the lintel in the former figure, showing this motif, appears to be upside down.

temples, practise lavish philanthropies. It is only fitting that he should honor her—honor her, and thank her too. And thank her not only for favours already granted, but also, with a bow to her proverbially fickle nature, thank her for favours still to be received. With her have co-operated the *yakṣas* and other subterranean beings who guard the treasures beneath the earth's surface. Them, too, he honors that they may prolong their generosity. In this way he will continue to enjoy the comfort and plenty brought to him, one of the deserving rich, by the united action of heaven, earth, and the underworld. His are the solid blessings of the successful business man.

CONCEPT OF DEVA IN HINDU THOUGHT

by BETTY HEIMANN

IT IS A GENERAL HUMAN POSTULATE TO VISUALIZE BEINGS MORE PERFECT AND LESS HAMPERED BY DEFICIENCIES THAN MANKIND

The main deficiency of Man deplored by himself since olden times is the fact that he is limited in the range of his bodily functions and intellectual capacities. His limitation is felt with regard to Time in so far that he is bound to the law of temporary fatigue, gradual bodily decay and final death. The gods as Man's ideal counterpart are thus postulated to be free from these human shortcomings. Accordingly, they are assumed to be endowed with the predicates (as postulates) of being not subdued by human fatigue. They are visualized as *a-svapna* or *a-nimiṣa,* not needing sleep, nor wanting ever to close their eyes. Nor are they bound to illness and decay, for they are *nir-jara,* and finally they have not to undergo the hardship of dying—they are *amaras,* immortal.

It is not an ideal state either that Man's natural functions are limited in Space. Thus his gods are considered to be *vivasvat,* all-pervading, or *vibhū,* being present wherever their wants or desires urge them to function.

As to his intellectual qualities, too, Man is not satisfied with his restricted reach. The gods must be *vibudha,* endowed with all-pervading (*vi*) enlightenment and knowledge. Where human intellect has to stop, debarred from entering into the secrets of Nature and of highest knowledge, the divine mind can still penetrate. There are secrets which are only known to the gods while being beyond the ken of Man. Thus the *deva-guhyas* are recognized as lying outside the range of Man's feeble divinating powers, but attainable for super-human divination.

Another postulate originates from the psychological sphere. Super-human happiness and evenmindedness are wanted. The gods therefore can be continuously *sumanās,* happily well-balanced. This indicates a divine disposition.

However, Man is not only concerned with concepts of gods representing an ideal attainment for its own ends. Practical and, in a way, egoistic

human considerations also play their parts in the assumption of gods. The gods are postulated as *sumanās* not only for their own divine sake, but Man expects for himself a beneficial result from this divine disposition. The gods will thus be more inclined to distribute favours unto Man who is dependent on them. The postulate of *sumanās* has also a subjective, not only an objective aspect. The favourable disposition of the Gods will bear its fruit also for human welfare.

Gods and ethics

The gods are in all respects the ideal Man. This finds its reflection also in the ethical sphere. Man's general tendency towards the good, creates gods as the personification of virtue and moral excellence. The gods are mostly *puṇya-śīla,* having the character of rightful action; they are *dharma-ātman,* striving towards law and order. However, there is an innate tendency in Man also towards the powers of evil. The *a-dhārmika* man is the counterpart of the *dharma-ātman* and the *dur-ācāra* is opposed to the *puṇya-śīla.* Good and evil, both attract Man and it lies in his own power of free will or rather in his innate tendency to follow the one or the other. Thus he accepts good and evil gods.

Good and evil gods

The term *deva* implies in itself a double aspect. Super-human force may be benificent or obnoxious. God and demon is essentially the same. Accordingly, the Jains classify denizens of Heaven and Hell both as beings of essentially the same super-human qualities. Sometimes, however, the Indian religions introduce a kind of gradation in rank between them. Though both belong to the same super-human family, the demons are somehow fallen from their original divine rank, or at any rate, of divine perfection, and assume the position of yet deteriorated divine beings—fallen angels, as it were. Otherwise the Demons are lowered in position as but offsprings of the gods thus slightly inferior to their seniors, the gods themselves. Māra, the devil, is accordingly called *deva-putra,* son of the gods. Gods and demons are then allocated to different localities; the gods having as their *deva-bhāga,* the northern sphere of heaven, while their opponents are assigned to the southern part.

However, in olden times the position between gods and demons was in reverse order. The *asuras,* the demons, were the older and the more

powerful brothers of the gods. Brāhmaṇas and ancient Upaniṣads tell again and again that the *asuras* are if not the more beneficient, the more efficient, forces. Fear of god, instead of love of god, prevails.

It may be however that some historical accidental facts have contributed to these psychological considerations. A certain group of the inhabitants of Iran (hence the name 'Iranians' or 'Aryans') branched off from their Persian brothers and descended southwards into India bringing with them former common Iranian concepts retained or transformed. In Avesta, the *asuras* (or *ahuras*) are the main gods of beneficient powers while the *divs* (*devas*) represent the evil forces. The Aryan-Indians of Ṛgvedic times changed in opposition to their former brothers the meaning of *asura* and *deva* into their respective contraries; the *asuras* now are accepted as the evil, while the *devas* become the good gods. However, there lingers in the minds of the Indians through the centuries the acknowledgment of the *asuras'* uncontrollable powers. The *devas* are but the younger brothers who have had to fight for their supremacy. There is even a linguistic indication that '*asura*' was the original and prevailing concept. A synonym for '*deva*' is '*sura*' which in itself cannot be easily explained. It seems that a later artificial etymology derived it from the original term '*a-sura*' in splitting off the first vowel of the term in question in the sense of a negation. However this problem of etymology may be, the *devas* are considered as the natural opponents (*ari*) of the *asuras* or *dānavas*.

Gods as human postulates

Man can never transgress, even in his concepts of super-human beings, his own limits of categories. Tensions and counter-tensions only in a higher degree than in his own human sphere are assumed to exist also in the world of demons and gods. The *devas*, too, have their enemies and as such their fear. Gods, too, have their struggles for recognition and superiority. The demons are at least their equals in power and might.

Also other indications of human weakness are retained in the concepts of gods. The Hindu cosmogonies give strange accounts of how the world came into existence. They teach that the world is the outcome of a self-dismemberment of a primary cosmic being or a sacrifice performed on this primary being by the gods. The world is never a creation out of nihil; primary Matter existed before it side by side with the gods themselves. The gods may decide only on the form or shape which the world shall take.

Or else, the world is a kind of biological emanation, an outflow from the divine body itself brought about with or without intention by *tapas*, effort and exertion. But even this restricted act of world-formation seems to transgress the gods' normal powers. They are exhausted after this operation, very much like a human being who has over-taxed his natural capacities.

Structure of the divine society

The gods are the more perfect, or more vital, counterparts of Man. Though being on a higher level than ordinary Man, the gods are bound to a structure which still lies within the framework of human vision. As a counterpart to human society a somehow similar divine society is assumed. The gods, too, must have a kind of gradation in their community. There are main gods and also there are lower kinds of gods, *devakas, deva-gandharvas, deva-bandhus, devikas* and *deva-yānas* (serving gods). There are even among the main gods a temporary, or constant, gradation. One of them is the *ati-* or *adhi- pa* or the *deva-pati* or *deva-siṁha* (God Śiva), or *adhi-deva,* the recognized leader. All the main gods get in turn these honorary titles. First, most probably, Indra, the god of vigour and highest virility, was considered the supreme. Besides, he is truly called the god of fertility because it is he who is also concerned with cosmic fertility. It is he who with his earthly-heavenly weapon, the club, bursts open the Vṛtra the firm enclosure, of the heavy rain-clouds so that the water necessary for all production can freely flow. Similarly the winds, the *Maruts* or *Vāyus* can assume the highest rank by virtue of their special divine function of all-pervading presence and vigorous movement in penetrating the universe with their forceful and purifying motion. Rudra, the howler, the roaring temepst, manifests divine strength, though in a terrifying aspect. Under his euphemistic name of Śiva, the beneficent one, he assumes later the all-embracing functions of generating and destroying simultaneously or successively. His third and highest aspect is that of the indifferent agent of these interrelated acts of productive and destructive powers; he is thus the master-*yogin*. Or in the more intellectual sects of later Hinduism God Viṣṇu is elevated from his low rank of a local sun-deity with restricted functions (his three strides) to the position of the universal productive power which manifests itself again and again for the benefit of earthly beings. Occasionally also god Brahmā, the pale reflection of the all-embrac-

ing impersonal Brahman, may be regarded as the highest deity. But the special function assigned to him, that of being merely the world's creator, never gained a predominant significance in the Hindu mind. As stated above, the natural concept for the Hindu is to assume that the process of world-formation is a quasi-mechanical outflow of a primary productive chaotic substance. Besides, the one-sided function of creation alone without its natural counterpart of interrelated destruction or re-absorption is too unnaturally limited for the Hindu mind. This explains the fact—most puzzling for the Western observer—that just Brahmā, the creator-god, owns an amazingly low number of temples, quite out of proportion to those dedicated either to Viṣṇu or Śiva.

There is a gradation in the divine society just as in the human community—only with one difference: major, or even supreme, divine beings may successively become minor gods (e.g. Varuṇa) or minor gods are later raised to the highest rank (e.g. Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva); there is no fixed caste-system or hierarchy among the gods.

There is yet another aspect of this gradation of gods which is puzzling for the historian of comparative religions, but which is very much in accordance with India's Nature-bound religious feeling. The gods are the representatives of one or more natural functions. Even if the one or the other god is momentarily accepted as the supreme, he is never acknowledged as the unique. He is at the highest assumed as the *iṣṭa-devatā,* the chosen or favourite deity. But choice presupposes the existence of others besides the one specially selected. From Ṛgvedic times through the ages *not Monotheism,* but—as Max Muller happily termed it—*Heno-theism,* is taught. The one or the other god may be temporarily the leader, the *primus inter pares.*

Male and female gods

Other aspects of human society, too, are transferred from the earthly to the heavenly spheres. The Divine does not find only male, but also female, representatives. This is a general postulate of all religions, but once more developed in India in a characteristic way.

The finds of the earliest civilizations in the Indus valley, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt and other parts of the Near East, all reveal traces of the cult of Mother-goddesses. There are the figurines of exuberant feminine

deities in Mohenjo-Daro and in the most recent excavations in Mesopotamia. There is the cult of Mother Isis in Egypt and of the so-called 'Magna Mater' which spreads from Asia Minor via Greece to the Roman world of religion. It is true, however, that in early Ṛgveda, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the female aspect of the Divine was pushed to the background by the predominantly masculine orientation of Brahmanic tradition. Later Hinduism, however, brought the mother-goddesses once more to the fore. Nature, the universal Mother, is personified in all her generating and destructive powers. God Śiva cannot be visualized without his *Śakti*, his feminine aspect of Nature's productivity. As such he is shown together with his consort Durgā or Kālī (representing divine dark and destructive power) or with Pārvatī, his generating force. The *devī* par excellence is Durgā. The dark emotional uncontrollable power of Nature finds its more appropriate expression in a feminine deity. The emotional texts of the Tantra-sects are preferably dedicated to the *devī*, not to the *deva* (e.g. the Devī-tantra.) In the narrations of the Purāṇas, on the other hand, the masculine god is predominant; note the titles: Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Kūrma-Purāṇa, etc.

Here the Devī-purāṇa ranks only as an *upa-purāṇa*, a secondary text.

God as human beings

The gods, though elevated in rank, are nevertheless bound also to some laws which govern human life. Gods also need food, an abode, a play-ground, bath, scent, flowers, ornaments and even physicians. They have been born at a certain time and as such have, though an increased, only a limited, span of life. In a way, they also have to submit to the law of rebirth. For all these various human aspects we find analogous predicates attributed to the gods. Gods also need food, *vīti, anna, āhāra, andhas;* they want baths *snāna*, scents *kusuma*, play-grounds (*udyānas* and a *Kudas*). They require physicians (though partaking of the food of immortality: *amṛta*!) Gods have *cikitsakau*, who have to put right occasional disturbances of their health. Besides, they are also in need of a spiritual teacher, of a *deva-guru*. Certainly, all their needs are of a subtler and more elaborate kind than that of their human brothers, but, in a way, human they are.

Furthermore, not all their needs are satisfied within their own divine society. They also need the assistance of Man himself. They are

also desirous of the food which Man can provide. The sacrifice is *deva-jagdham,* eaten by the gods. Gods are strengthened by human sacrifice (the significant term frequenetly used in Ṛgvedic hymns is that the oblations of gross or subtle matter strengthen, *vardhayante,* the gods). Gross matter like offerings of cattle, honey or the intoxicating drink Soma helps the gods to fulfil their wanted actions. Besides, they enjoy, or even need, the gifts of more subtle substance like concentrated thought (*dhī*) or hymns of praise. Significantly the most effective ones among these hymns are called the *Brahmans,* i.e. those which cause the gods to grow (caus. of *bṛh*). Because of its universally effective power it is just this *Brahman* (later used in singular neuter as a cosmic principle) which supersedes the gods; it is in itself sufficient to achieve whatever is needed.

Like human beings the gods also want a place of residence, they need their *deva-āgāras,-bhāvanas,-āvāsas,-āyatanas, -ālayas,-okas,* etc. But Man assigns to his gods more elevated places of residence. Either they reside in the select regions of Heaven or they take their abode in specially chosen places on earth. They are invited by incantations to inhabit as their homes temples specially erected for them. Their images in the temples are considered not only symbols of divine functions, but actual manifestations of the gods concerned. The *deva-pratimā* or *deva-pratikṛti* is believed to be imbued with the divine power itself. At certain festivals the images are driven about in their temple-cars, on outing, as it were, for the gods themselves, though having the additional purpose to give the divine blessing to as many human beings as possible. As all great masters on earth, the gods in the temples have their special devoted servants, the *deva-sevakas,* who attend to all their needs. A slightly different aspect has the cult of the gods provided by the *deva-dāsīs,* the female temple-dancers, who please the gods by their devotional performance. They may transfer their service instead to the gods on earth, the priests. Here is an idea not dissimilar to the strange marriage-custom of *niyoga-vivāha,* introduced into the service of gods. The favour which the woman grants to other beings is assumed to be done for the sake of her divine master and thus gets the higher meaning of a religious ceremony.

However, the presence of the god or of his image alone does not suffice to make the temple a real abode of the Divine. The temple needs the additional *charisma* of divine Nature itself. It is no accident that

amidst the elaborate carvings of the temple-walls nearly everywhere one wall is left untouched by human hands. This cannot be interpreted as a merely historical accident that for one reason or other the temple-builder was obliged to give up his work—the frequency of this occurrence rules out this explanation. It seems that intentionally the human work remained unfinished in order not to cut off the more divine forces of Nature. The same idea seems to underly the construction of *Gopuras*, open door-gates as they are, which lead to the wider natural surroundings. Human arte-facts, even when consecrated by the supposed presence of the gods, need the further sanctification by Nature herself.

Gods as other beings have their *yoni*, place of origin. They are born from the womb of the *deva-ātmā*, Aditi, their divine mother of boundless generating power (*a-diti*). Gods have also their offsprings, sons and daughters. These younger gods may not have the full venerable rank of the gods themselves. The *deva-kanyās* or *deva-anganā* may only attain semi-divine dignity, e.g. the *Apsaras*.

Whatever has come once into existence, is bound to have also once an end. Thus though the life-span of a god is longer than that of an ordinary man, nevertheless the *deva-āyus*, too, is limited. According to the lower or higher rank of the gods concerned, a lower or a higher number of years, is assigned to them. Only Brahman, the neutral principle, trans-cends a definite span of life

We may combine the concept of a limited *deva-āyus* with the dogma of divine *avatāras*, divine descents. The gods are bound to re-appear, though not in so regular periods, as Man.

There is a certain *ṛṣi-hotra* considered as a partial reincarnation of god Viṣṇu. There is also the teaching of the Bhagavadgītā that Viṣṇu-kṛṣṇa re-appears only when his purifying power is needed on earth. Thus his re-appearance may be likened to the apparition of a Messiah. However, the god is bound to re-appear either in human or animal form—think of the ten Viṣṇu-*avatāras* and the less fixed *avatāras* of God Śiva. Besides, there is another difference between human and divine re-embodiment. Only a part of the divine being, only an *aṁśa*, is re-incorporated while his main part (usually counted as three quarters of the divine body) does not enter the inferior womb.

Man's relation to devas and their relation to man

Though the gods are taken as a separate category distinct from Man both these classes are sometimes combined in a collective *Dvandva*-compound: *devamanuṣyam,* god and man. And actually there is a continuous interrelation between them both mainly established by the sacrifice. Agni, though a god in himself, is the mediator between god and man, because the sacrificial fire lit on earth rises in its flames to the upper regions. Agni, the fire, is the divine messenger, the *deva-dūta.* His intermediary functions are indicated in his appellations as the *vit-pati,* the Lord of the house (on earth) and as *deva-vaktṛ,* the speaker to the gods, who transmits the human wishes. Another messenger who also as such combines human-divine qualities is the breath, the medium for the songs of praise. Prāṇa (or Vāyu) is the singer for the gods, he is the *deva-gīrvāṇa* or *deva-gāyamāna.* Concrete or less concrete oblations offered in the fire of the altar (*vedī*) or in the breath of the chant are the *deva-vātas* desired by the gods. The sacrifice and chant establish contact between Man below and the gods above. They are *deva-yānas,* ways paved by Man leading upwards. On this path constructed by Man the gods are induced to descend in response to the call. They are magically attracted by the upwards trail of flame and breath.

But also on their own accord the gods contact Man. They choose for their abode certain distinguished parts of the human body. Their light enlightens the human being. The eye, the main human sense-organ of perception, is significantly called the *deva-dīpa,* the lamp of (or from) the gods. The *puruṣa* in the eye is frequently mentioned, e.g. in the Upaniṣads, as part of the divine cosmic *puruṣa.* Just as the eye, the ear is a focus of perception; the ear in its turn is the receptacle of sound and speech and provides another selected place of divine entrance into the human sphere. The ear, especially the left one, is thus called the *deva-hū,* the one which receives the call of the gods.

Another place of concentrated power within the human body is the pericardium, the cavity of the heart. This centre of human life-force, of intellect and emotion—according to Hindu conceptions—is an appropriate seat of highest human, and thus divine, force. It is considered the *deva-śuṣṇi,* the cavity in which the gods reside.

The finger-tips, then, the concentrated nerve-centres of the body,

too, are because of their super-sensitivity connected with the Divine; they are the *deva-tīrthas,* the crossing points through which gods (and demons) can approach the human being.

From all these indications we may gather why the centres of human perception are sometimes simply called *devas* or *devatās.* They symbolize concentrated capacity of perception. The gods represent human faculty in its highest degree.

There is a continuous influx and relationship possible between Man and his gods. Extra-ordinary faculties in Man are in themselves divine. Certain *ṛṣis* of outstanding attainment are as such intermediary beings between Man and the gods. They are *deva-ṛṣis* like Atri, Kaśyapa, Bhṛgu, Pulastya, Nārada and the Angiras. They are all called *deva-bhūtas* or *deva-bhūyas,* they are raised to the rank of gods or are worthy to attain this position by virtue of their ascending tendencies. In this light we have to value compounds like *deva-guru* or *deva-putra,* honorary titles granted for instance to Kaśyapa. The ambiguity of Sanskrit compound-terms provides an alternative of interpretation. Either *deva-guru* may be explained as a *guru* like a *deva* or even as the *guru* for the *devas.* Similarly *deva-putra* may mean: a son of the gods or even having *devas* as sons. Both alternatives are a possibility for the highest *ṛṣis;* they are the bridge between ordinary men and their ideal counterparts, the gods. Ṛṣis belong to both spheres, to the heavenly and the earthly one.

Just as the *ṛṣis* are beings of super-human power, so are the Brāhmaṇas, those who are endowed with the all-powerful power of Brahman; they are called the *devas* on earth. Ever since this title has been conferred to them in Brāhmaṇa rituals this claim is retained by the privileged Brāhmaṇa caste. Their social predominance is based on their magico-religious endowment with Brahman-force which in Brāhmaṇa times replaced former Ṛgvedic gods and which the personal gods of later Hinduism can at their best only equal.

Other outstanding human persons, too, though with less religious rights, can claim for themselves, or are attributed with, the title '*deva,* resp. *devī.* The king and his consort are to be considered by ordinary man as beings of a higher species. They are addressed as *deva* or *devī.*

A more limited sphere of divine rank is assigned in the family circle to the husband and master of the wife. She has to venerate and to serve

him as her private god, as her own *deva*. Accordingly his nearest relatives, his brothers, assume the rank of *devaras*.

Heaven and earth are inseparably interconnected. *Dyāvā-pṛthivī* is a dual compound; both together are the parents of all men and gods. The earth, too, is a *devī*, the divine consort of Heaven. Her offspring, too, have the divine spark.

Not only men, but also other beings on earth belong to the divine family. *Deva-jana* is the class-name of snakes. They have also a special claim to the title of relatives of gods. They represent dangerous powers. Besides, they are connected with the fertility-cult, most probably because of their connection with water. It may be that this relation between water and snake is established on grounds of external similarity in appearance. The winding snake is like the winding river. Rivers are depicted in Hindu art in the shape of a snake.

Rivers themselves are clearly connected with the Divine. The holy Gaṅgā is the *deva-nadī* or *deva-kulyā*, the divine river. This sacred stream on earth is visualized as originating in the pure waters of heaven. Before descending to earth she rests for a while on the holy forehead of god Śiva. Purity and purifying power as well as fertility are the divine attributes assigned to rivers. The descent of the Gaṅgā from heaven to earth establishes yet another bridge between the two spheres, another *deva-yāna*. Just as the sacrifice ascends to the upper regions, so the divine fertility, be it rain or the holy Gaṅgā, descends from above to the earth.

Gods and bhakti

The idea of interrelation between heaven and earth is retained from early Ṛgvedic cosmology through the dogmas of identification of micro- and macro-cosmic objects in Brāhmaṇa—and Upaniṣadic times. A new offshoot of this basic idea is apparent in the later theistic Upaniṣads and in the Bhagavadgītā. In full strength it is to be seen in medieval India, shortly before, and after, Hindu and Moslem ideas amalgamated. I think of the concept of Bhakti. Bhakti, a term derived from the root *bhaj*, to share or to participate, establishes a way of communication and contact between god and Man. The human worshipper approaches through his active faith and devotion his *iṣṭa-devatā*, his favourite deity. Just as the sacrificer of early days he is sure of the success of his action. Re-action will invariably

follow. Man is the prior agent in this process of mutual contact between God and Man. Instead of concrete oblation now only the subtle substance of concentrated thought and devotional emotion is offered. Bhakti is a spiritual sacrifice. *Bhakti-mārga* is a new form of ancient *karma-mārga*. But there is one significant difference. Not only the initiated Brāhmaṇa priest, but everybody who is capable of strong feelings—whatever may be his caste or training—is now able directly to contact the Divine. Having the right bhakti, he is *bhakti-mat*, godly. Very often this act of wooing the gods by means of bhakti is seen under the simile of a human, though elevated, love-affair. The aim is participation with the God, a union, if not an identification, with Him. Just as the old Upaniṣads (e.g. Bṛhad-āraṇyaka) visualize the non-duality between Ātman and Brahman under the simile of the love-union between husband and wife, just so, only in more detailed descriptions, does the *bhakti-mat* expresses his want for uniting with the Divine. The more active partner in the desire for union is, according to Hindu ideas, the woman. Note the teachings of the Sāṁkhya system how Prakṛti, the female principle, tries to attract through her emotions Puruṣa, the less willing male. Accordingly, the human *bhakta*, the lover, depicts himself as the woman tending towards his god, the man. Not only the bhakti-poetesses like the Princess Lallā, but also Cāṇḍīdāsa or Kabir, the men, describe themselves as the passionate women-lovers, who are ready to sacrifice honour and all their being to their divine partner, the God.

Gods as the higher powers

After the *devas* in the course of Upaniṣadic thinking had established themselves as the superior powers over the older and formerly stronger *asuras*, derivations from the word '*deva*' are used to indicate divine dignity and goodness, i.e. godliness. Here are some examples: *deva-ātman, devya, devatā,* all these terms are applied in the sense of *māhātmya,* the good authority, the predominant dignity.

Gods as the representatives of the beyond

Accordingly, all knowledge surpassing human capacities is assigned to the gods. Etymology, for instance, whose intricate connections are not easily grasped by man, is raised to the status of a divine privilege. It is called the *deva-vidyā*.

There is a significant difference between the Indian and the Western modes of thought implied in their different valuation of the word 'the other'. The Sanskrit term *'para'* and its Greek equivalent *'heteros'* tend towards positive or negative appreciation respectively. The Greeks, always striving after established order, certain measure, clear definition, and distinction, were inclined to see in everything which is otherwise from that which is already fixed a kind of disturbance. Everything which is not foreseen, is uncanny and gains a negative sense. The Greeks bound themselves firmly to this world of ours, ever reluctant to transgress its well-defined limits. The Indians, on the other hand, early conceived the transitory nature of all worldly phenomena and conditions. Taking the world in general also only as a kind of individual, the world as a whole, too becomes for them but a fleeting phenomenon. They have the immanent urge of transgressing the limits, the fixations and definitions. They see the world in a dynamic function of continuous change and development. (*Bhūman*). Every happening has only a momentary transitory value (see in the Buddhist dogma of the *kṣaṇa-vāda,* of the but momentary existence of everything, the last consequence of this Indian idea). Whatever lies before our eyes in a visible tangible shape undergoes change, is liable to growth and decay and can never be of lasting and final value. Thus the *para,* the other, which is not fixed to one form only and contains thus more than one potentiality of possible form, gains for the Indian the value of the higher, the beyond. Only the materialists who rank the lowest among the Hindu systems of thought, cling to the moment and the accidental visible form in hand. Their slogan is: *na para,* nothing beyond the momentarily given. Only the sense-perception and enjoyment of the moment is true and existent. They are the *na-astikas,* the non-believer in permanent transcendental Being. As such they are the atheists or *deva-piyus,* the decrier of gods. All the other Hindu systems, even the so-called 'realistic' systems of Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika, do not feel satisfied with presently given facts only. The Nyāya, though being mostly concerned with the practical means of leading a logical discussion, include in their categories of *prameyas,* objects of knowledge, the investigation of the Ātman, the connection between Man and other or higher powers. Furthermore, they tend through all their logical operations to come to the real *tattva-jñāna,* attainment of general truth, and finally to the *niḥśreyasa,* to a stage of liberation beyond which

nothing lies any higher. The Nyāya includes in its range of investigation also speculations on personal gods and impersonal Divine.

Also the second so-called 'realistic' system, the Vaiśeṣika, though, as its very name indicates, mainly occupied with the research of the *viśeṣas*, the actually given differences in this world of phenomena, nevertheless postulates something beyond visible perception. In the physical world they are seeking for the *adṛṣṭa*, the invisible, but yet existent, entity. They call it the minute subtle atom, the *aṇu*, or the all-embracing ether, the *ākāśa*—both equally beyond the range of human perception. It is no accident that these Indian physicists use the same terms and concepts (*aṇu* or *aṇiman* and *ākāśa*) which the ancient Upaniṣads (e.g. the Chāndogya) employ as symbols and visualisations of the Divine. The concept of the Beyond is engrained in the Indian mind, it may take the form of personal gods or of the super-personal Brahman or of physical postulates of the immense which lies outside the sphere of measurable things.

Gods and nature

In ancient Ṛgvedic times the gods were representatives of either single natural phenomena or of combined natural functions or—as in the case of 'Henotheism'—the whole bundle of divine attributes of Nature is transferred successively from one to the other main gods. Indra, the warrior on earth and the warrior in heaven, was connected with Nature's phenomenon of the thunderstorm. He sets free the heavenly waters of fertile rain. The mighty roar of the thunder is in later Hinduism the commanding voice of gods in general. It is called *deva-śabda* or *deva-garjana*. It is likened to the deep spontaneous sound of Man's yawning which is accordingly called *deva-datta*, produced, or given, by the gods. The thunder, its heavenly counterpart, is a more tumultuous noise; it is the *deva-tumula*.

In connection with the concept of divine thunder stands the *deva-mīḍha*, rain as the divine outflow pouring down unto the earth. Rain is the *deva-mātṛka*, having its origin from the Gods.

But also the fertility water on earth, springs and rivers, are connected with gods and are specially appropriate places for meditation and worship. *Deva-tīrthas* or *deva-prayāgas* are the narrow valleys out of which the pure springs come forth; lonely mountain-rocks and crevices,

dark mysterious caves and hollows, all these are places on earth where the nearness of the Superhuman is felt. Fear of hidden powers arouse feelings of helplessness and need for guidance. As such they are called *deva-bilas, deva-kuṇḍas, deva-khātas* and *deva-guhus.* Outstanding lonely heights *deva-kūṭas,* and their geological opposites, unfathomable depths, are uncanny, and as such, mysterious places. Here Man feels awe before the Unknown. Nature's setting alone is sufficient as a place for worship with, or without, an image of a god. Nature itself provides sacred surroundings. Thus caves or grottoes or steep rock-walls are favourably used for carvings of divine personalities—note the rockfigures of the Jain *Tīrthaṅkaras* in Gwalior or the Buddha-figures carved on the rocks of Ceylon or the Hindu images in the caves of Elephanta. Beneficient natural powers of undying fertility and vitality are incorporated, as it were, in tropical vegetation. As such plants and trees and shrubs are easily connected with the Divine. There are various trees which are called *deva-vṛkṣas* or *deva-kāṣṭhas,* for instance the Indian fig-tree because of its exuberant intertwined outgrowth, or the pine tree, or the hibiscus plant. Also all medicinal plants used for the restoration of human vitality are assumed to be imbued with extra-ordinary powers.

Animals, too, because of their impressive vitality and fertility or because of their dangerous strength are representatives of the Divine on earth. The bull, the cow, the elephant, the monkey or the snake are themselves holy beings or are connected with the cults of certain gods.

Gods are symbols of Nature's powers. As such they can counter-act human expectation and reasoning. The simpleton who acts and re-acts naturally, though may not reasonably, is the *deva-priya,* the favourite of the gods. The *deva-grahin,* the man who is seized by the gods, is in an ecstatic state which leads beyond the normal human reasonable action. He is like the Greek *entheos* (lit. the man in which the gods reside) exalted, i.e. no more bound to the limited capacity of Man.

Gods are super-human

Man has to follow the higher powers voluntarily or against his will. The divine prescriptions, the *deva-hitis* or *-hitas* are inviolable. The *daivam,* the impersonal Divine, is his Fate.

Gods and magic

Gods and demons, surpass Man because they are endowed with super-rational, incalculable powers. The *deva-hūti*, the call from the gods, gains thus in the Purāṇas the meaning of a magical spell to which Man has to succumb.

A reflection of the magical powers of the gods may be seen in Hindu legal proceedings. The gods are invited to be the undeceivable and infallible witnesses. The *deva-sākṣya* establishes unerring truth of crime or innocence against which no appeal is of avail. The *deva-enasā* is a curse or condemnation which cannot be counter-acted. The *enas*, the guilt stated by the gods, inevitably comes to its due fruit, retribution.

The gods are imbued with super-human magical power. The *deva-cakra*, a circle made by the gods, cannot be transgressed and is a binding spell.

Accordingly, also human instruments of dangerous efficacy and might are simply called *devas*, for instance, the sword.

There is yet another function of generally asumed magical quality attributed to the gods. I think of the *deva-māyā* which gods and demons alike may exercise. Indra (and Varuṇa) in the Ṛgveda is called the *deva-māyin* or *puru-rūpa*, the one who can appear in manifold forms. Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā possesses a similar *deva-māyā* while reproducing by means of his *vi-bhūti* all *bhūtas* in their divergent (*vi*) shapes at will. Yet this *māyā* is never simply a fraud or illusion or a free creation out of nihil, but only a transformation of formerly existent Matter and a kind of acceleration of its innate quality of change. It is 'creation' in the sense of the Protean power accepted by the ancient Greeks. Even in later Buddhistic and Vedānta teachings *Māyā* is not unreality of things, but all empirical objects are viewed as but *Māyā*, measurable phenomena, (from root *mā* to measure). As such they are limited and transitory. *Māyā* has its due empirical reality, but seen *sub specie aeternitatis* is but an accidental and not ever-lasting formation of Matter. The assumption of divine *Māyā* is thus not a purely magical, but an ontological, concept of continuous change in forms of existence. It is the empirical part of primary immeasurable Being. The gods' natural magic is only an exemplification of the scientific law of transformation of Matter.

There are other properties assigned to the gods which tend to the

Unknown. *Deva-praśna,* the question which no average man, but the gods can answer, is the enquiry into the not-yet-manifest future; *deva-praśna* is fortune-telling, or the revelation of Man's Fate from the knowledge of Man's interrelation with cosmic powers, stars, etc.

Not uniqueness is for the Indian a postulate of the divine form, but the capacity of assuming innumerable shapes representing innumerable natural qualities. In this context we may view the connection of the Hindu gods with the concepts of number. The god is not unique, but he may be connected with the number one, the unit and matrix of all numbers or with various combinations of the number three which symbolizes the perfect balance of extremes. As such the Upaniṣads enumerate as the numbers of the gods one or three halves or thirteen or thirty-three or three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine, etc.

Gods and fate

Man is responsible for his own actions and their due consequences (*karma*). However, his life-span is restricted and he is not able to survey himself the full results which become manifest only in the series of his reincarnations. Only the perfect *yogin* has this extra-ordinary gift.

A longer *āyus,* span of life, is however assigned to all the gods. Thus they can overlook in a wider view Man's course of development in his sequence of embodiments. Thus the gods know what is no more, or not yet, visible for Man's restricted outlook. Though they may not predetermine the events, they are aware of the inevitable laws which govern the happenings. As such *devatā, daiva* or *daivata* may assume the meaning of Fate.

Gods and gambling, luck and chance

Gambling, at any rate in an honest play, gives result beyond human control and calculation. Unforseen gifts are bestowed on the winner. A friendly power seems to favour the lucky one. Gods have their hands in it. Thus the gambling-house is called *deva-sabhā* or *dyu-sabhā. Devin* or *devitar* is the name for the gambler who puts his trust in the Unforeseen. *Devanas* are the dice and, on the other hand, the service to the gods. A more doubtful, implication of the divine gambling may be found in Bhagavadgītā X 36 where god Kṛṣṇa claims to be the *dyūtaur,* the gamble, for the *chalayatam,* the cheating gamblers.

Philosophical concepts of the gods and the divine

The essential life-force in Man is super-individual. It is part and manifestation of a divine power: *deva-ātma-śakti.* The Ātman resides in the body or in a series of bodies as the inner ruler, the *antar-yāmin.* He is not limited in Time nor in Space. He manifests himself in other co-existent beings on earth or in other spheres simultaneously or in continuous succession. All individual beings or souls are but emanations or manifestations of the all-embracing, ever-productive principle of Brahman, the super-personal Neuter. Gods, Men, animals or plants are thus interconnected as parts of the whole. The fact of their interconnection with regard to their equal or graded value is the main problem of the Vedānta philosophy. Śaṅkara, the *Advaitin,* the believer in non-duality or identification of all beings with the highest Brahman, views *sub specie aeternitatis* all beings, be it gods, men, animals and plants, as essentially of the same value. From the transcendental point of view the small differences in value and capacity do not matter much. His main concern is to establish the dependency of all of them on Brahman, the root-principle which is immanent, and yet beyond, all of them. All of them are but secondary and transitory evolutions from Brahman. They are among themselves, and with regard to the highest principle, *sa-ātmaka,* identical.

Rāmānuja, then, though still maintaining that Brahman as principle lies beyond the range of all personal manifestations, emphasizes that the Gods are of a higher, i.e. less restricted, capacity than Man, let alone all other earthly beings.

Rāmānuja is less a transcendental thinker than a psychological philosopher. His epithet is significantly the *yoga-indra* or *yati-indra,* the master of psychological Yoga. He speculates on the differences between Man and his higher counterpart, the god. His dogma is that of *sa-yujyatā,* connection, but not union, between the Divine, the gods, and men.

Finally, Madhva, the Theist, leaving aside the concept of the relationship between the Brahman-principle and all its personal manifestations, asserts that the gods themselves are the highest goal Man can strive to attain in liberation, a goal however, which Man can never entirely reach. Not complete identification, nor essential similarity, but at the highest *sa-lokatā,* nearness in space in a kind of heavenly abode Man can hope for. The gods are the masters and Man their devoted and humble servant.

After all what we have seen in our preceding interpretations either views near to Śankara or Rāmānuja or Madhva are mirrored in the Hindu's various postulates of gods.

Linguistic explanations of the term 'deva'

On the basis of our previous findings we may now venture to approach the problem as to which verbal root or roots or nouns we have to assign the term *'deva'*. Does it belong to a root *div*, to shine, and has this root any connectionn with *dīv*, to gamble, or even with yet another root *dev*, to lament and implore? Grassmann in his Dictionary of the Ṛgveda attempts to establish a connection between *div*, to shine, and *dīv*, to gamble. He assumes for both of them a common root with a primary meaning of: to throw or shoot forth. Then 'to gamble' would indicate the throwing of dice and 'to shine' the shooting forth of rays of light. After all what we pointed out, however, 'to shine' itself seems to be the original quality of gods, think, for instance of the mother of all *Ādityas*, of Aditi, the Boundless Light. Gods are praised in the Ṛgveda by means of *ṛk* (from root *ṛc* of which *arka* the ray of light is yet another derivation), in order to make them more and more shining and outstanding, i.e. to make them more divine. If this interpretation holds good, then *dīv*, to gamble (originally *dīu*), would not be primarily connected with root *div*, to shine (originally *diu*), but only secondarily it can be combined with some further postulates of the term *deva* itself. Gambling, as explained above, is a game of uncontrollable luck and chance. It may well be associated with the gods as they, too, represent powers beyond human control. The third root, then, *dev* or *dīv*, to lament or rather to implore stands in the same relation to *deva* as *dīv*, to gamble. The gods after being recognized as the higher and outstanding forces have to be implored in order that Man can obtain from them the desired results.

As to the other alternative at which we hinted above we have to consider whether the word for 'god' is not directly derived from any root, but is a secondary formation from a noun *diva* or *divit*, or *dyaus*, Heaven. If it be so, then, too, the primary concept of *deva* would be 'light'. Heaven is the counterpart to darkness, either represented by earth or by night (*dyāvā-pṛthivī* or *dyu-naktam*). The appropriate abode for the *devas* is thus *svar-ga*, heaven, or literally the sphere of the light-waves.

One objection, however, could be made against these explanations of the *devas* as the shining powers of light. In Avesta, the sister-religion of

the Ṛgveda, the *devas* or *divs* are the dark powers of evil. Accordingly, the 'devil' is the supreme spirit of evil. But is not just Lucifer, the carrier of light, an epithet of Satan, the devil? He is the condemned, or fallen, former inhabitant of the sphere of light, Heaven. He, too, once belonged to the divine range. Demons and gods, both are essentially the same. Only our subjective attitude towards them extols the one to the highest heaven and lowers the other to the deepest darkness of hell. Man is the inferior, or less potent, counterpart to both of them.

THE SYMBOLIC ASPECT OF FORM

by ALICE BONER

"Symbolism and imagery (pratīka, pratibimba, etc.), the purest form of art, is the proper language of metaphysics." Says A. K. Coomaraswamy in 'A New Approach to the Vedas.' Sacred art of any kind is art attached to and dependent on a metaphysical doctrine, from which it receives not only its subject-matter, but also rules for the composition of images and the treatment of form. Such art does not exist for the sake of its own achievements, but for the sake of realisation of transcendent Truth. It has no other purpose than to be the exponent of a doctrine and a support to religious and spiritual aspiration. It will not therefore deal with the varied aspects of phenomenal life for the sake of their own emotional and pictorial interest, but only in the sense in which they are mirrors of divine Reality. It will not dwell on the transient, accidental, elusive aspect of things, but on their essential being. The material world of forms it will strive to transfigure and to transpose into the world of "Ideas", from which it is derived.

Since sacred art, then, will never attempt to give a sensory illusion of the material texture of this world, it will never use the naturalistic, realistic form-language of profane art. In order to seize upon the spiritual aspect of things it is bound to ignore all that is material, accidental, irrelevant in appearances so as to fall back upon their archetypal configuration. This involves transfiguration of phenomenal entities into essential qualities, in the sense of Platonic "Ideas" or the Tantric "Tattvas". Form thus qualified may retain only an analogical resemblance to factual appearance, but since it is truer metaphysically, it will acquire potential symbol-value.

For the purpose of analysis, Hindu art gives the clearest and most substantial evidence of the working principles of such a symbolic form language. Hindu art has always been governed by transcendental vision and has achieved the rare miracle of integrating all living form into geometrical and architectural patterns, without depriving it of movement, organic vitality and intense expressiveness—rather, on the contrary, enhancing them. The sculptures inside and outside Indian temples are, with all their

plastic exuberance, no mere decorations, but integral structural parts of the architecture. Their meaning as well as their position and form are governed by the same laws that govern the metaphysical plan of the temple.

If the most adequate medium for the transcription of metaphysical conceptions is found in mathematics and geometry, conversely the ultimate archetypes of all living form are found in geometrical figures and bodies, as the final terms to which form can be reduced. Geometry thus provides a plane of refraction, as it were, between the world of essential being and the world of formal manifestation, where each contacts the other as a ray of light touches its reflection on the surface of a sheet of water. It is not surprising, therefore, that geometrical figures play so important a part in every system of sacred symbolism, and that they determine the symbolic character of form as the natural language for sacred imagery.

Geometrical forms are essentially functional—not in a mechanical, material sense, but transcendentally. They are not abstractions, but living images of cosmic forces. They are the graph of definite processes, of laws and energies, that act alike on the sensible and on supersensible levels. Quite apart from mathematical definitions, it is this specific morphology of geometrical figures which is the basis of all symbolic form, whether it be pure, or qualifying and circumscribing natural form.

It may be helpful to make a rough analysis of the essential properties of the fundamental geometrical forms and their basic symbolism in order to show, how in traditional art they take the place of naturalistic form in the figuration of divinity or of any transcendental conception.

The sphere is a body of perfect cohesion, fullness and unity, determined by a centre equidistant from every point of its circumference. Its energy is centripetal when it is indrawn towards the centre, and centrifugal when it expands towards the circumference. In Greek metaphysics the sphere represents universal manifestation, the totality of Existence, emanating from the One, the immanent central Principle and finally reabsorbed into It. It is the form of God: *Sphoera cujus centrum omnibus, circumferentia nillibi.*

The circle is a line recoiling upon itself and devouring, as it were, its own beginning, eternally revolving around its centre. In Vaiṣṇavism and in Buddhism the circle in the form of a *Cakra* (wheel) represents the

revolution of the Year, of Time, the cycle of existence, cosmic or human, the Eternal Law, according to which everything proceeds into manifestation and is again withdrawn from it.

The spheroid can be considered as a sphere in the process of pulling itself asunder into two separate units, each with its own centre. It represents disruption of unity, division of wholeness for the sake of multiplicity. Therefore the spheroid stands for the World-egg, the incipient duality of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* which leads to manifestation.

The cube is the only entirely inert form,—without dynamic stress inherently or spatially—firm, rigid and motionless. The cube and the square, its correlate, represent, among the *tattvas, Pṛthvī* (Earth), the grossest and densest element, the stable and solid support of all life.

The cylinder, an eminently dynamic form, is a compact sheaf of parallel energies, pushing in both directions along its longitudinal axis into limitless extension. In Buddhism the vertical cylinder, either in the form of the *Dharma-stamba,* the Pillar of the Law supporting the Wheel of Existence, or as the stem of the Lotus that supports the Buddha in glory, stands for the central axis of the universe. This very conception is expressed in Śaivism by the same form, but under a different connotation. Here it is the erect Liṅgam of unlimited extension which supports the universe. Brahmā as a swan flying up into heaven and Viṣṇu as a boar digging down to the centre of the earth try in vain to find its end. The axis of the universe is also symbolised as the flagstaff before the central shrine of a temple, as the *sannyāsī's staff, and in man, the microcosmus,* as the spinal column, the *Meru-daṇḍa.*

The spiral, when it coils inward in narrowing circles suggests a gathering up of forces,—recoil, concentration, involution. When it coils outward in widening circles it suggests procession, expansion, evolution. The spiral in the form of the *Śaṅkha* (Conch), the *Śālagrāma* (fossilised shell) and the *Seśanāga* or Ananta (serpent of eternity) always refers to Viṣṇu-Nārāyāṇa, the all-pervading, creative Principle from which universes are put forth and into which they are re-absorbed.

The triangle, the first of rectilinear figures to define dimension, has also the strongest inner cohesion, for each of its sides is connected with both the others, each is in opposition to and complementary with the others: their balanced tension is one of unassailable unity in plurality. Leaving

aside all the complex and subtle symbolism implied in Trinity, the three in one, we shall only point out its purely plastic symbolism. The equilateral triangle standing on its base, dominated by the vertex represents *Puruṣa,* the immanent Principle. The triangle standing on its base is also a symbol of Fire (Agni), as an upward tending, involuting force, returning to the Centre. Standing on its apex, with extension dominating it represents Śakti, Māyā, the power of manifestation. Similarly, when the triangle has one of its sides raised into the third dimension and from a plane figure becomes a body, a tetrahedron, it stands for *Kriyā Śakti,* the power of operative manifestation in space and time.

Not only have geometrical figures and bodies their morphology and meaning, but so have lines. A line is either straight or curved, but when it is curved, it presents an indefinite variety of characteristics.

The straight line, the shortest possible movement from one point to another, is direct, rigid, insensitive, dividing space, but never forming it, itself spaceless and limitless. In Tāntric symbolism the straight line represents Jñāna-Śakti, direct perception of pure Consciousness (*Cit*). Jñāna-Śakti is also figured in the form of a sword, the sword of pure Knowledge, Discrimination, which cuts across the veil of illusion. To express this conception it is essential that the sword should be straight, not curved. The same symbolism is implied in the spear or lance, the attribute of Kārttikeya, as a combined power of Yoga and Jñāna.

The curved line, whatever the degree of its curvature, is always creative, formative, it always delimits or encloses a portion of space and thus originates shape. A curve can be flat or full, relaxed or full of tension. A double curve, bending first in one direction and then in the other, suggests a restless forward drive, progressing by alternation from one opposite to another, like the movement of a snake. In the Tantras the double curve in the form of the *aṅkuśa* (elephant-goad) is the symbol of *Iccha-Śakti,* pregnant with the desire for manifestation—the movement that leads from pure, transcendent being to embodiment in matter.

Surfaces, being only portions of geometrical bodies, have no symbolical meaning in themselves, but they necessarily partake of the character of the body to which they belong. A convex surface, partaking of the nature of a sphere, expresses growth, progression, fullness, expansion, radiation of energy from within. A concave surface, on the contrary

suggests an indrawing of energy, regression, re-absorption and collapse. In a flat surface these tendencies balance each other, so it is neutral like a straight line.

It should not be forgotten, that the directions in space also, have their own symbolical meaning, which greatly qualifies the properties of geometrical form. Verticality makes for dynamism, aspiration, growth and firmness, while horizontality makes for heaviness, quietness and inertness. An upward diagonal slant has sway, action, aggressiveness, while a downward slant suggests fall, defeat, submission, relinquishment. A vertical column is an eminently active form, where as a column lying horizontally looses all stress and becomes inert. A truncated cone standing on its broad end weighs downward and expresses gravitation, stability, earthbound immobility. Standing on its narrow end it becomes light and appears to be soaring upward. All things rooted in the earth, all plants and trees, stand on their broad ends, while creatures that walk about, stand on the narrow end of their legs. Compare the difference in the feeling given by an Egyptian temple, where massive pillars taper from their broad bases to their lotus-capitals and that given by a Gothic cathedral, where the columns expand above into ornamented capitals and the flying arches of the vault.

These examples may make clear what is the nature of the elements that go to the making of sacred imagery. Though in figurative art these fundamental geometrical principles cannot be applied pure, but only in an approximation, still they determine from within the composition and the shape of images. The operation of the artist who works on esoteric lines is never psychological, emotional or anecdotal, but purely formal. He feels form in its purest essence, not for what it represents, but for what it signifies. The intrinsic character of the geometrical pattern imprints its meaning on the sculpture:

Viṣṇu as the supporter of the universe is not represented as an athlete with bulging muscles carrying a heavy globe on his shoulders, but simply in the form of a vertical column, standing rigidly erect, with straightened legs and arms close to the body, holding his four attributes symmetrically on either side and vertically above each other.

Viṣṇu in *Yoganidrā,* when he is at rest between the withdrawal of one universe and the emanation of the next, is represented lying horizont-

ally on the coils of Śeśanāga floating on the Ocean of *Pralaya*. His horizontality is combined with a spiral movement of the Nāga: he is inactive between involution and evolution.

The Buddha after his enlightenment—after he has become one with supreme Truth—is not represented with rapturous expression or gestures, but seated crosslegged in supreme calm, all senses withdrawn, his entire figure inscribed into thee upright triangle, the symbol of *Prakāsa*, the Principle of Light. Similarly the victory of the spirit over matter in the Buddha's head is not expressed by any psychological device, but by the predominance of the forehead and by the complete relaxation expressed in the perfect oval of the face.

The principles laid down for the Indian image-maker in his study of anatomy show very clearly how the traditional artist studied form, not in its material likeness, but in its functional expression. Since all objects in this world partake, in their whole frame or in their several parts, in this system of fundamental form, and since the lower living organisms are necessarily nearer to these archetypes, they are considered in their turn as symbols and similes for the more highly organised and complex forms. Their analogies and comparisons give a striking image of the living action of every part of the body: The head is described in the likeness of an egg, with the skull as its broad and the chin as its smaller end, for the egg, like the skull, is a shell containing soft matter of indefinite potentiality. The neck with its circular folds is likened to a conch, not only in its form, but as the seat of the voice. The torso of a man is compared with the head of a cow, the upper part broad and hard, the lower part soft and narrow, with folds above the snout as above the belly. The arms are likened to the trunk of an elephant, because of their downward tapering form, their flexibility and their power of grasping. The legs are compared with the the inverted trunk of the banana tree, with which they share their shape and their supporting power. The eyes are described in various ways according to their cut, their motion and their expression—a *safarī* fish when they are restless and agile, as a *khañjana* bird when they are dancing and playful, as a *parval* when they are drowsy, as a lotus petal when they are half closed in bashfulness. (See A. N. Tagore, Indian Iconography, *Modern Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3).

And just as anatomy is expressed in simile, Divinity itself is expressed

in an analogy of form, character and movement. Such transfigured form-language cannot be approached either discursively or sentimentally, for it directly touches our inner awareness of cosmic correspondences. Like notes and inetrvals in music, it awakens a response in us from the irrational depths of our being. Like music, it uses form in rhythmic sequences, in a subtle interplay of parallel and opposite movements, resulting in a closely knit harmony, which instead of evolving in time, spreads itself out in space. In these free rhythms is echoed the rhythm of the universe. In "The Transformation of Nature in Art" p. 179 note, A. K. Coomaraswamy says: "In these passages the spiritual significance of rhythm in art is plainly asserted. Conversely they are also of interest in connection with the problem of the origin of art, all rhythm corresponding in the last analysis to cosmic rhythms."

When such inner knowledge of form was still alive, it must have been a language in the truest sense of the word, and understood by all. It was a transcription of the doctrine into visual images, and at the same time a commentary which would in many ways be more clear, direct, and impressive than the written word. The fact that figurative art can show simultaneously elements which in transcendental Reality are co-existent but which words can only explain in a sequence, makes it often more powerful and comprehensive than verbal exposition. On the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself, having failed to move Arjuna to action by His words, resorted to an image in order to convey the fullness of His meaning and showed him His Cosmic Form. In his "Elements of Buddhist Iconography", p. 35, A. K. Coomaraswamy quotes the words of Kobo Daishi: "The Reverend Divine informed me that the secrets of the Shingon sect could not be conveyed without the aid of pictorial representation."

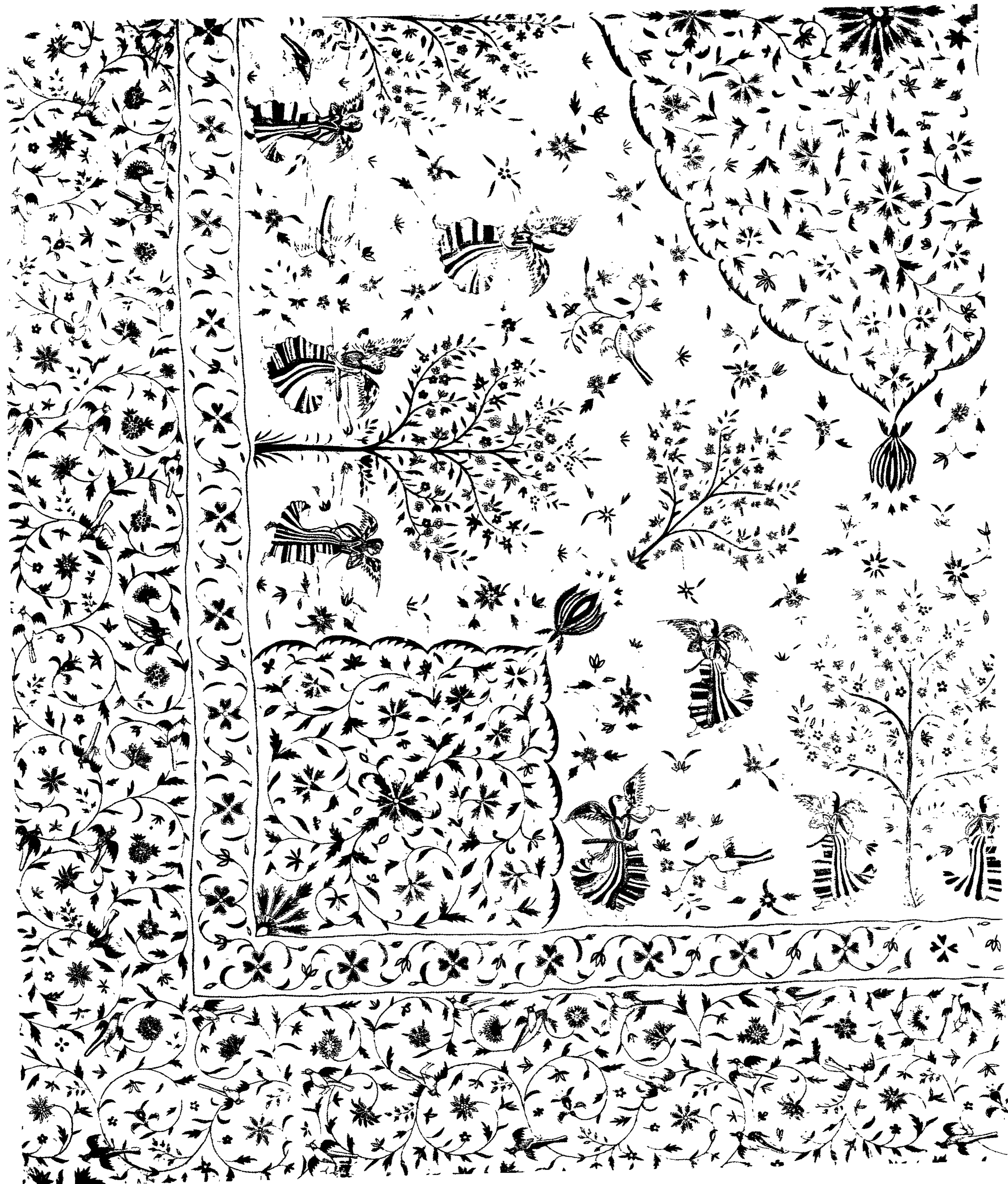
This language of image addressed itself to a people whose vision was not dulled by a one-sided bookish education, but whose senses were alert and whose minds were capable of grasping the message of form. They did not live divorced from contact with nature, shut up in factories and cheerless prison-houses of cement and steel. They lived with their bare feet on the bare ground, their heads bare under the open firmament. They lived in constant touch, physically and emotionally, with all the elements of nature, with the powers of earth and heaven. To their eyes and minds infinite cosmic backgrounds were ever present. Their feeling was nourished and

their imagination kindled by the subtle harmony of forms in nature, and they knew the laws that produced such harmony. These people handled the raw materials of the earth, not machines and machine-made articles, and in obedience to the natural laws of harmony created objects of beauty for their gods and for themselves. Their knowledge of form was thus born of experience, renewed every day and gathered up through generations, and it gave truth, substance and plasticity to their thinking and feeling. It endowed them with creative imagination, which was capable of translating any natural form into an analogy, into a symbol of deeper significance. Out of such unity with the forces of the cosmos "*pratīka*" was created and understood.

From all this it will be readily inferred that sacred art in any tradition, as long as it was alive, could never have amounted, as it is so often gratuitously assumed, to a mechanical repetition of pre-established patterns. Even if sacred imagery had necessarily to adopt certain formulae with respect to the lineaments, proportions, colours and attributes of divine figures, these formulae were never arbitrary. They rested on the transmitted experience of transcendent vision, a source from which flow innumerable rivers of realisation. Artistic realisation can no more result from thoughtless acceptance of patterns, than spiritual realisation can follow from merely conventional worship. No valid or vital work can be accomplished unless the worker plunges himself into that primary source and there visualises the object of his desire. Only when he has integrated himself emotionally, intellectually and spiritually with his object, will it assume visible form in his inner self. From the depth of his consciousness he may then bring forth the forms that will best express the aspect of divinity he was seeking.

Sanskrit texts that deal with the making of images always emphasise the necessity of inner visualisation. In "The Hindu View of Art" A. K. Coomaraswamy quotes from the Agni-Purāṇa: "The imager, on the night before beginning his work, and after ceremonial purification, is instructed to pray: Oh thou Lord of all the Gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out the work I have in my mind," and from Śukrācārya: "The lineaments of images are determined by the relation which subsists between the adorer and the adored." He adds that the practice of visualisation, referred to by Śukrācārya is identical in worship and art.

If such inner visualisation of divine aspects was at all possible, it was because these craftsmen knew, through meditation and experience, the exact relationship between concept and form, between a principle and its visible expression. Through intellectual and emotional awareness of these correspondences they were able to compose the various elements of an image into that particular harmony, which would, most comprehensively, mirror the chosen aspect of the Divine.



VII

THE COMMERCIAL EMBROIDERY OF GUJERAT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

by JOHN IRWIN

It is probably true to say that the world-wide fame of Indian textiles from the sixteenth century onwards depended less upon knowledge of traditional Indian design than upon the skill with which her craftsmen adapted themselves to the demands of foreign taste. Sometimes the designs which sold best abroad were simply variations of traditional patterns, intended to appeal to Western fashions for the exotic. Sometimes they were composed of diverse and seemingly incongruous elements borrowed from different cultures, as widely separated as Europe and China. More often than not they were adapted straight from patterns supplied by the foreign buyer or his agent. Whatever the elements and their sources, however, the final effect—the combination of colour, rhythm and line—was always unmistakably Indian, embodying the genius of local tradition.

The Indian textiles best known abroad were of course the painted calicoes; but hardly less important than these—and yet much more neglected by the research student—were the embroideries.

When the great Albuquerque set sail from India in the year 1511 with rich gifts for the Queen of Portugal, included among them were "many women greatly skilled in needle-work."[1] On the way home the ship was wrecked and the unfortunate embroiderers drowned; but the story remains on record to show how early was the appeal of Indian embroidery in Europe.

For the next three hundred years, embroidered goods continued to be fashionable in Europe, being shipped not only by the Portuguese but also by the Dutch, the English and the French. At first they were mainly furnishings for the bedchamber—in particular quilts and pavilions for the large canopied beds of the period, which constituted the most important article of furniture in the European household, and the one upon which most expense was lavished. In the early seventeenth century, when home comforts spread to the living room or parlour, there was a growing demand for embroidered table carpets and curtains. By the end of the century, however, these had been largely replaced by painted calicoes, and henceforth embroideries were

imported mainly in the form of piece-good material, which could be cut-up by the buyer for dress-lengths or adapted to any other fashionable purpose.

Many embroideries of this class dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are fortunately preserved in European museums and private collections, where they are usually to be found classified under the vague and often incorrect title "Indo-Portuguese". The interest and importance of these textiles to the student of Indian art history has not yet been made apparent. For the most part they are unpublished and little known; and, moreover, owing to the lack of systematic study and classification, there is always the initial problem of attribution.

In a paper recently published by the present writer,[2] one group was isolated and shown to represent a forgotten school of embroidery which once flourished in Bengal. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to another group, equally distinctive, and to show that it represents the contemporary style of commercial embroidery as practised in Gujerat.

It is clear from contemporary records of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English trading companies that bulk exports of embroidery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were largely derived from three areas: Bengal, Sind and Gujerat. The Bengal embroideries, as explained in the paper already cited, were distinguished in the first place by the fact that they were usually worked in yellow Tussur silk, the designs covering almost every square inch of the ground. Sind embroidery, according to contemporary accounts, was usually worked on leather—a material and technique for which this province has remained famous until recent times. Gujerat embroideries, on the other hand, will be shown to have been usually worked in bright multi-coloured silks on a cotton or satin ground.[3]

Barbosa, who visited Gujerat in 1518, was the first European to mention a local embroidery, with the brief statement that "they make here very beautiful quilts and testers of beds finely worked."[4] Seventy years later Linschoten elaborated upon this account, describing the bedspreads of Cambay as "stitched with silk... of all colours". He implied that they were among the commodities of his time regularly shipped via Goa to Lisbon.[5]

From the time of the first arrival of English ships at Gujerat ports, the English East India Company was at pains to acquire the local bed-spreads—a fact which indicates that they already had some fame in Europe Specific instructions were given to the factors to buy "quilts made about





Cambay",[6] and at least as early as 1614 (the earlier sale records are missing) bulk consignments of embroidered goods were reaching London. The Company's Minute Book of this year contains many references to the sale of embroideries at the London auctions,[7] of which the following are typical:

> "Then was putt to sale a faire quilt of white satin imbroydered with sundry colours, for which Mr. Benjamyn Henthawe buddinge £39-10-0 at the going out of the flames[8] was adjudged yt...
> Next was putt to sale a Carpet or Quilt imbroydered upon callicoe with sundrie silks for which Mr. Greene biddinge £5-15-0 had the same adjudged...
>
> A callicoe hanginge imbroydered was then putt to sale somewhat defective and stained, for which Mr. Alderman Corkaine biddinge £5-6-8 had the same adjudged..."

Circumstantial evidence leaves no doubt that these embroideries were of Gujerati origin. On the one hand, Surat was the only Indian port at which the particular ships bringing them had called. On the other hand, it is clear that although the same ships had brought back Chinese embroideries from Bantam, the latter were of an entirely different kind. The Chinese embroideries brought to Europe in the first quarter of the seveneenth century are an easily identifiable type, corresponding with contemporary descriptions of them as velvets or coverlets "worked with gold and silver thread."[9]

In the English records of the sales of Indian embroideries, there is no specific reference to provenance until 1618—a date coinciding with the first arrival in London of Bengal quilts. Thus, in the account of an auction held on 25th February, 1618, there is mention of a "Bengalla quilt" and a "Patania quilt" being sold.[10] The latter term is easily recognisable as deriving from Patan, the well-known town and *tāluka* in Baroda, and it subsequently became one of the names by which Gujerati quilts were best known in England. A Royal Proclamation issued by Charles I in 1631 listed "quilts of Pitania embroydered with silk" among commodities which were henceforth to be permitted to be brought home by the Company's servants as articles of private trade.[11]

In 1662 the Dutchman, Schouten, wrote that embroidered goods were still among the principal exports of Gujerat;[12] but after this we hear nothing —until 1725, when Alexander Hamilton referred to the embroidery exports

of Gujerat as a thing of the past. "They (the people of Cambay) embroider the best of any people in India, and perhaps in the world. Their fine quilts were formerly carried to Europe. I have seen some worth £40. . ."[13] From this it must be concluded that the commercial value of this industry declined sometime between 1670 and 1720.

The literary evidence quoted above leaves no doubt that the commercial embroideries characteristic of Gujerat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were worked in multi-coloured silks on a cotton or satin ground. From the predominance of chain-stitch technique in surviving Gujerati folk embroidery, it might also be inferred that chain-stitching was another characteristic of the earlier commercial work. On the same grounds, bright colour schemes would be expected, with reds and blues predominating.

The works singled out here as examples of Gujerati embroidery share all these characteristics. They are sufficiently uniform in style and repetitive in subject matter and treatment to leave no doubt about a common provenance; and they survive in sufficient numbers to indicate that they were produced by an organized industry rather than in the more casual circumstances of domestic embroidery. As a final confirmation, I am fortunately able to cite one example which bears an inscription in Gujerati characters of the seventeenth century (Pl. VIII).

Among those reproduced here, the earliest is the fine piece shown at Pl. VII, which is preserved at Hardwick Hall, the famous Elizabethan manor in Derbyshire. The design consists of a central medallion with acanthus edging, and a wide rectangular border filled with delicate floral scrolls interspersed with birds. In the field there are *paris* with pigtails and brightly striped costumes, depicted among delicate conventional flowering trees. There are certain features of the design (in particular, the treatment of the flowering trees) which immediately recall inlay and veneer decoration characteristic of the late Akbar and early Jahangir periods;[14] but even if such links were absent, it would still be necessary to consider a sixteenth-century dating in light of the Hardwick Inventory, drawn up and signed by Bess of Hardwick in 1603.[15] Most of the original furnishings described in the Inventory are still in place to-day, and very little of a later date has been added. In these circumstances, it is significant to find several Indian embroidered bedspreads included in the Inventory, and although the descriptions given are not sufficiently detailed to be able to identify among them

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the piece reproduced here, it is nevertheless not improbable that it was among those listed.

A distinctive feature of the execution is the way in which certain forms (such as the *paris*) are composed of rainbow stripes of brightly coloured silks. This is a feature shared by many later designs belonging to the same group, as will be seen, for instance, from the treatment of the parrots in the centre of one of the hangings at Pl. VIII. The Gujerati inscription mentioned above appears on the selvage of one of these pieces, and according to Dr. Moti Chandra it reads as follows:[10]

Astar jhadmāmak nā patar ga. 9. *Khulat ga.* 1¼.

The lining of *jhadmām* (?). Length 9 *gaz*. Breadth 1¼ *gaz*.
The term *jhadmām*, Dr. Moti Chandra has been unable to explain, although he expresses no doubt about the reading.

Seventeenth-century designs of Gujerat embroidery are clearly influenced by contemporary painted calicoes, many of which were in turn based upon patterns supplied by the European factors. It is not generally realized, however, that the embroiderers and the cotton painters sometimes worked from the same stencil. I had long suspected this, but had been unable to prove it until recently, when in an English country house I came across a *painted* hanging and an *embroidered* hanging based on the same stencil (Pl. IX). Careful study showed the basic outlines of the two designs to be identical, although in detail drawing and in choice of colour there were striking differences. It would be difficult to decide if the very varied motifs included in designs such as these owe most to India, China or Europe; yet there can never be any doubt that it is an Indian hand and eye which unites them, and which gives the finished design its individual strength and character.

The bedspread shown at Pl. X probably represents the end of the seventeenth-century development. The fact that it is in poor condition does the design less than justice; but even so, it could never have stood comparison with the superb Hardwick embroidery at Pl. VII, although the links between the two are obvious. By the late seventeenth century, English needlewomen had learned to produce designs of better quality than this themselves. Nor was their technique inferior. These factors probably explain why the once famous, but now comparatively degenerate, bedspreads of Gujerat passed out of vogue somewhere around the year 1700, not to be

revived again until the nineteenth century when a less discriminating public was willing to tolerate and even to admire more frankly commercial products.

[1] *Commentarios do grande Afonso Albuquerque*, Lisbon, ed. 1774, vol. III, 218.

[2] "Indo-Portuguese embroideries of Bengal", *Art and Letters* (Journal of Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, London), vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1952.

[3] An exception among early descriptions is Marco Polo's thirteenth century account of Gujerat embroidery (which he considered "the most skilful in the world") as being worked on leather, similar to later descriptions of Sind embroidery, indicating perhaps that this was the pre-Islamic traditional technique of the whole of this part of India. See in particular the Toledo text, published under the title, *Marco Polo's Description of the World*, translated and edited by A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols., London, 1938.

[4] *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hak. Soc., 1918, I, 142.

[5] Linschoten, *Travels*, Hak, Soc., 1885, I, 61 and 185.

[6] India Office Archives, *Factory Records Misc.*, vol. 25, 19.

[7] India Office Archives, Court Book III, pp. 150, 320, 325, 391, 499, etc.

[8] The Company's auctions were conducted according to the system known as "sale by the candle". An inch of candle was lighted at the start of bidding, and the final price was determined by the highest bid on extinction of the flame.

[9] *The Voyage of Saris*, Hak. Soc., 1900, p. 216.

[10] India Office Archives, Court Book IV, 135. (London).

[11] Public Record Office State Papers 45, vol. 10, No. 150.

[12] *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, Amsterdam, ed. 1808, I, 400 and 407.

[13] A. Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, London, ed. 1930, vol. I, p 86.

[14] K. de B. Codrington, "Mughal Marquetry", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. LVIII, 1931.

[15] The Hardwick Inventory, which is unpublished, is preserved in the Library at Chatsworth, Derbyshire.

[16] The inscription was photographed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and prints can be ordered by quoting Negative No. H. 589.

ILLUSTRATIONS

(A part only of each textile is shown in the reproduction

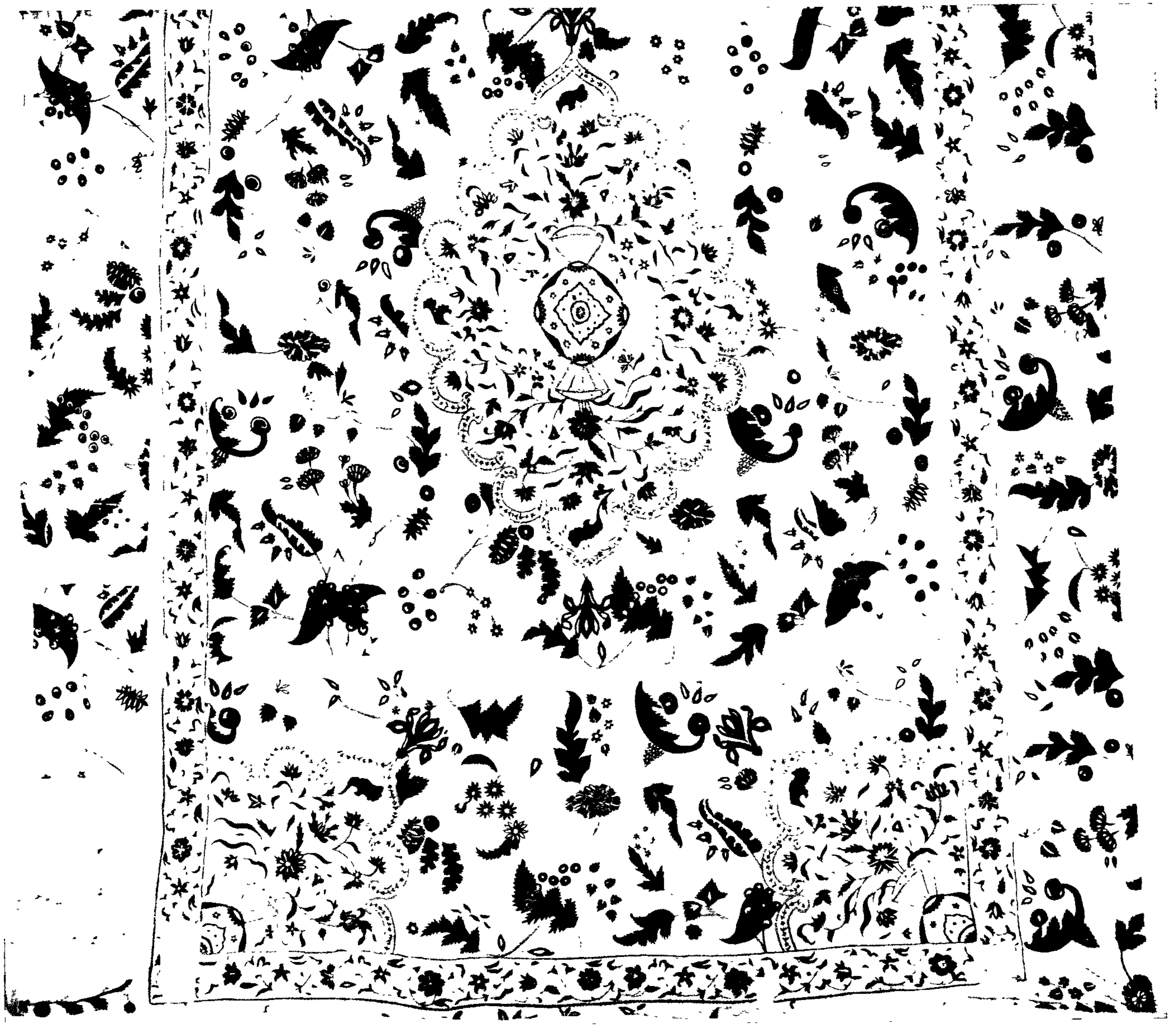
Pl. VII. Part of bedspread: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in fine chain-stitch. Gujerat, late 16th century.
Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Hardwick Hall

Pl. VIII. Hangings: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in fine chain-stitch. From Gujerat, 17th century.
Collection of Lady Ashburnham, Ashburnham, Sussex.

Pl. IX, 1. Hanging: cotton, stencilled and hand-painted. Made from the same stencil as that used for the embroidered hanging at Plate IX, 2. From Gujerat. 17th century.
Collection of Lady Ashburnham, Ashburnham, Sussex.

Pl. IX, 2. Hanging: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in fine chain-stitch. From Gujerat, 17th century.
Collection of Lady Ashburnham, Ashburnham, Sussex.

Pl. X. Bedspread: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in fine chain-stitch. Gujerat, late 17th century.
Victoria and Albert Museum, 303-1900.



PRIMITIVE INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

by BENOY GHOSE

I

1. THE HOUSE IS A TOOL AND A SOCIAL PRODUCT

The *house* is essentially a *tool,* an artificial protective device, without the aid of which the world-wide distribution of mankind and the diffusion of human culture that we see at present, would not have been possible. As an *extra-corporeal tool,* unlike the *corporeal hereditary* tools of animals, it can be modified to meet varying conditions and needs and adapted to a wide range of climates. As a tool the *house* is also a *social product,* and the rules for making and using it are preserved and handed on by a *social tradition.* As a tool it can be *standardized* and *specialized* and all its improvements and modifications can be stored and transmitted as a *cultural heritage.*[1]

2. THE HUMAN HOUSE AND ITS SUBHUMAN COUNTERPART

Every extra-corporeal tool invented by man reveals a history of his increasing adaptability and efficiency and the house illustrates this principle as well as any other object of man's material culture. But in one respect the house is probably *unique.* All other material inventions and artificial devices of human culture originate *exclusively* in human experience. No animal, not even man's primate ancestors, has ever been found to chip or hammer a stone with *deliberate intent* to fashion a tool out of it. They may use a stick, a stone, the branch of a tree or even a solid fruit as a ready-made device, but they have never been known to transform the raw product into something new *by conscious and purposeful effort.* The *house,* however, is the only exception to this rule.[2] Its counterpart is fairly widespread in the animal kingdom, and birds and insects often surpass the skill and ingenuity of human architects. The nests, shelters, hives, heaps and various other artificial structures in the subhuman world are wonderful specimens of architectural skill.

Primitive man probably inherited from his primate and other distant

ancestors a tradition of nest-building that he could easily adapt to his need and environment. It is not possible to trace any remains of man's earliest efforts to provide shelter for himself, since the earliest representatives of mankind could have used only perishable materials for the construction of such shelters. But it is very likely that primitive shelters were of the crudest character, little advanced beyond the nests that the anthropoid apes construct for themselves in the branches of the trees. The temporary shelters of the food-gatherers and hunters all over the world, and in India of the Andamanese, of the South Indian forest tribes like the Kadar of Cochin State, the Mala-Pantaram of Travancore, the Paliyan of Madura, the Chenchus of Hyderabad, the Veddas of Ceylon, the tree-houses of the Urali of Southern India and the Garos of Assam like the tree-houses of New Guinea and the Philippines, strongly suggest this human adaptation of subhuman device in the construction of shelters.

3. THE FAMILY, PROPERTY AND THE HOUSE

Man might have inherited the tradition of "house-building" from his primate ancestors to fulfil one of the most fundamental and universal needs—*the need for protection from unfavourable natural climate,* and the house provides an *artificial climate* in which not only greater comfort is possible, but also upon which, in certain exceptional circumstances, human existence itself depends. But *man's need for shelter is far greater than that of animals,* because the human organism by itself is far less equipped to meet the rigours of Nature. The natural protection that other animals have in their bodily accessories is almost hopelessly inadequate in man, who seems to have evolved in a warm climate where such accessories were unnecessary. Hence the human necessity for shelters is far greater than that of his subhuman ancestors and this necessity has driven man to invent a variety of 'types' of this essential tool—the *house*—that is, various types of houses to suit varying environments, to which subhuman world can hardly afford any parallel.

Apart from this physical shelter which a house provides, it also serves another universal human need—*the need for the protection and storage of food and personal or communal property,* that is, tools and other belongings which man treasures. If shelters and houses were not needed for man's physical protection, they would still be necessary to protect, to

store and to house his personal or communal tools and belongings and, above all, his *food.* No such necessity arises in the animal world.

Over and above this shelter which a house provides to human physique, food and personal or communal property, perhaps the most significant human need or urge which the house satisfies is *the need for family privacy.* To be more precise, it is better to say that it is *the need for sexual privacy* which the house serves. A primitive human "family"—the simple and universal "social group" or "unit" consisting of parents and children—where the care of the children is both "tribal" or "societal" and "parental" or "familial",—*the family unit would tend to be reduced to a conjugal or sexual unit,* and the arrangement of the dwelling of the family is likely to be made with an eye to *sexual privacy* and untrammelled courtship between husband and wife. Such need never arises in the animal kingdom.

4. THE HUMAN AND SUBHUMAN "FAMILY" AND THE "HOUSE"

The nucleus of the societies of the apes and monkeys is the *family party,* consisting of an overlord and his harem, held together primarily by the interest of the male in his females and by their interest in their young, though paternal interest is not so strongly expressed by subhuman primates. It is the *harem* which forms the nucleus when several family parties unite to form a larger herd, but the *herd* never appears to be so stable a unit as the *family,* which never loses its identity within the larger group. In the life of these subhuman primates, a crude picture of a social level is discernible, from which emerged our earliest human ancestors and upon which they probably modelled their earliest social life, somewhere in the first half of the Tertiary Geological Epoch.

Zuckerman, one of the greatest authorities of Mammalian Sociology, says that the polygynous gorilla or baboon can guard his females from the attention of other males while they forage together for fruits and shoots, but primitive man would not have gone hunting if in his absence his females were abducted by his fellows.[3] We can, therefore, conclude that reason, probably guided by the demands of man's omnivorous diet and the smallness and isolation of groups, might have forced the compromise of monogamy, with tendency towards sexual communism, often unexpressed, on the Palaeolithic society. In the Neolithic society, with the growth of larger

communities living peacefully together, this tendency found opportunities for expression and in many parts of the world, not necessarily everywhere, it became the starting-point of group-marriage. The picture of the most primitive "social group" or "family" which emerges out of this is, therefore, the picture of a free and unfettered sexual relation between husband and wife and the prolonged parental care of their children. This sexual life of man is something essentially different from that of the subhuman primate. Human sex-life cannot bask in the sunshine of public or communal life. A man and a woman must meet and mate together at a place where he and she are completely free as individuals to give and take. Communal life may, at best, contribute sexual energy to individuals, but the individuals need a private life of their own for the liberation of that energy, both individually and socially. *The sanctity of sexual life of primitive man demanded a house, a room, or at least a specifically allotted space, even in a Palaeolithic cave.* Fairly large communal caves have been found where such well-defined spaces are assigned to individual family-units comprising a group. At Kostienki on the Don river, Soviet excavators recently unearthed a big Palaeolithic house, 113 feet long and 18 feet wide, where a row of nine distinct fire-places down the centre suggests that it was a communal abode of a group of nine families.[4] Among the Veddas of Ceylon, whether staying in a 'private' or 'communal' cave, the family life continues in much the same pattern. Seligmann reports: "If in a communal cave, each family keeps strictly within its own limits, the woman may always be seen at exactly the same spot, and when the men come in they sit or lie beside their wives, keeping to that part of the cave floor that belongs to them as carefully as though there was a partition dividing it from that of their neighbours".[5] Figure 6, Plate II is a plan of the big Pihilegodagalge cave of the Veddas, the communal abode of a group of five families, showing the actual division of floor space.

5. THREE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS WHICH A HUMAN HOUSE SERVES

The foregoing facts clearly indicate that the dwelling house has served three fundamental human needs since the dawn of human society—

(*i*) The need for protection from weather and enemy (generally beasts);

(*ii*) the need for storage of food and property, personal and communal, and

(*iii*) the need for free family life and sexual privacy.

As these needs can be grouped as (*a*) *the need for self-preservation* and (*b*) *the need for reproduction,* they may be broadly called "biological needs". A *house* which does not fulfil these basic *biological needs* is not worthy of being called a "dwelling house".

6. THE HOUSE IS A "CULTURAL SUPERSTRUCTURE"

The house is a tool invented by man to help him in his adaptation to his environment. But the needs of man are not determined by physiological drives alone, they are determined under conditions of culture also in a more or less round-about process. "Culture" is not simply an "instrumental reality", an "apparatus" for the satisfaction of fundamental needs. It is a total dynamic reality in which physiological, economic, political, religious, educational and aesthetic needs-and-responses are all combined and integrated. The house does not serve "biological needs" alone, but satisfies other "cultural needs" also. The house, in this sense, is both a *"material tool"* and a *"cultural symbol"*. It is founded upon the primary biological and economic needs, and is structured and roofed with the secondary or derived socio-cultural needs—religious, educational and aesthetic. In this sense, the dwelling house is not only a tool' of culture, but also a 'cultural superstructure'.

II

7. ENVIRONMENT AND THE DWELLING HOUSE

There have been men like us in the world since the closing stages of the Ice Age, probably since the dawn, making mighty efforts to alter and adapt this earth to their conscious purposes. And as man presumably evolved in a tropical forest area like the rest of the primates, we cannot altogether exclude India, especially the Himalayan regions, as "one of the stages" where the opening scenes of human history might have been enacted.

The role of the *dwelling house as a tool,* along with the earliest eoliths and palaeoliths, must have been very great in these opening scenes of human history in India because, without the tool of a 'shelter', natural or artificial, the struggle for existence would not have been possible at all and efforts could not be made by man to alter and adapt the landscape to his needs.

The importance of man and his culture in relation to the environment has been emphasized by all human geographers.[6] The *types* of houses built by primitive peoples differ widely, being completely dependent upon the type of the "cutting tool" which the people possess and on the type of "landscape" in which they live. In the dry lands or deserts, no sedentary life is possible and houses, therefore, are nothing but mobile "tents". Sedentary human population is intensely concentrated in oases. In tropical forest and mixed forest lands, both "permanent" and "temporary" houses are constructed with wood and leaves, in accordance with the varying needs of the economic life of the hunters and collectors, shifting and settled cultivators. In treeless grasslands, pastoralists and hunters make tents of skin or felt and carry wooden poles as tent frames. In arid lands settled agriculturists make their permanent mud houses or houses of brick and stone. In the polar lands the people make "snow houses" of which the "igloos" of the Eskimos can be mentioned. In the mountain lands permanent houses can be built with local forest materials by people practising both "terraced" and "slash-and-burn" cultivation. The materials of house-building vary from one environment to another, and so far as materials influence 'design' or 'shape' of a house, a particular type of environment exercises some influence on the adaptation of a particular 'type' of house.

8. ECONOMY AND THE DWELLING HOUSE

The "correlation" between the Economy, Dwelling House and the Settlement-pattern is also evident everywhere. The hunters and gatherers live a nomadic life as exploiters of difficult environments and are compelled to construct "temporary" houses. The primary nucleus of individuals who have got to co-operate economically must dwell together in space, and the size and structure of these "hordes" or "bands" determine the size and structure of the communal caves, houses and the settlement-patterns of the nomads. The herders on the grasslands, since the domestication of animals,

have been the dominant exploiters of a dull and dreary environment. The use of such an environment economically by the pastoralists involves them in ceaseless movements for much of the year, a single family moving several hundred miles in the course of a year in quest of fresh pastures and water sources. In favourable seasons they live a semi-stationary life for a few months in houses, often rectangular, built of withies and reeds and covered with earth or sods, but the portable tent covered with felted material is their more dependable dwelling house. The cultivators and farmers who have established with the landscape a state of equilibrium, are rooted to the soil and live a stationary life in permanent houses and settlements. But some farmers are mobile, those who depend on some sort of "mixed economy", though they move less than pastoral nomads, much less than the hunting and gathering peoples. Nearly all farmers in tropical lands practise a sort of shifting cultivation with axe and digging-stick or the hoe. Vast areas of primeval forest have been altered by these peoples. A cluster of semi-permanent huts grows near the land and when the land is exhausted, the huts are deserted. A new cluster of huts is built and a new area of forest is exploited. This might have happened in the beginning, but the shifting cultivators, as they are found in India now, do not desert their settlements. There is more or less a 'fixed' settlement-pattern of the shifting cultivators in India. The settled farmers who have more perfectly adjusted their way of living to the landscape with improved tools of production, can afford to build more solid and permanent dwelling houses.

The role of the *economy* in the shaping of the "forms" of houses, the "pattern" of the settlement or the "assemblage" and "aggregate" of the houses in villages, towns and cities is, therefore, of supreme importance. The houses and the settlement-patterns are important from this point of view as socio-economic and cultural patterns of life.

9. THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY ON THE DWELLING HOUSE IN INDIA

The influence of Environment and Economy on the house-type and settlement-pattern is therefore important. India affords richest materials for the study of this influence as India probably presents a greater variety of geographical and economic conditions, actions and features than any other area of similar size in the world. In these geographical conditions,

various tribes and peoples of India have been living since the dawn of history, exploiting the variety of landscapes and adjusting their ways of life to them through different economic stages of society. Their house-types and settlement-patterns cannot be exactly described today, as the original forms and patterns have been possibly modified in the process of "acculturation" of later ages. But "house-type" and "settlement-pattern" as culture-traits are more or less "stable" over fairly long periods of history and are not easily susceptible to modifications by culture-contacts as other material traits are. Their stability is due largely to their direct dependence upon technology, economy and environment—factors which are not easily altered by intrusions of cultures and which in India particularly, have been conspicuously stable over long periods, despite such intrusions. A brief survey of some selected "tribal" houses in India as examples of fairly "stable" types and representing different types of environment and economy, will not be therefore irrelevant here in connection with my illustration of the influence of these factors on the "house-types" and "settlement-patterns".

(A) TRIBAL HOUSES AND SETTLEMENT-PATTERNS IN INDIA

ASSAM

The Nagas: The Nagas live in the geographical region of the Eastern Himalaya, the lower zone of which is characterised by its forests of śāl and pine, a rich undergrowth of shrubs and coarse grasses, some 18 species of palms and 12 kinds of bamboos.[7] Some of the Nagas practise a primitive method of shifting cultivation or *Jhum* as it is called, while others have a careful and elaborate system of irrigated terraced cultivation. The Naga houses, though not uniformly built with same materials, are almost exclusively dependent upon local resources. The Angamis have enough forest materials and they use wooden planks and posts for their houses, but the Semas employ chiefly bamboos.[8] The walls of Sema houses are matted with bamboos and roofs are thatched.[9] The Ao Nagas build their houses with bamboos and thatch grass. Even the roof is made of bamboos. Walls are made of thin bamboo, split and plaited together. The floor is made in a like manner.[10] The houses of the Lhota Nagas are also mainly built with bamboos.[11] The Rengma Nagas use wooden posts, bamboos and thatch. No nails are used in fixing, everything is tied with strips of cane or bamboo.[12]

Hutton says : ". . . all evidence from the Naga tribes suggests that materials used in building are dependent on those locally available. Thus while the majority of tribes use thatching grass for roofing, the Aos use palm-leaves, 'Tokupāt', where thatching grass is scarce and the palm is common, while the Kacha Nagas and Kukis where thatch is scarce use bamboo and cane leaves. So, too, the Kalyo-Kengu, who are able to obtain slate, use that either instead of thatch or to eke out what thatch they can get. When it comes to building we find the Angamis who have timber in plenty, but little bamboo, use hewn planks to build with. The Semas with little timber, but plenty of bamboo in their country use the latter."[13]

The "settlement-pattern" is not uniform over the entire Naga area. Sizes of the settlements vary widely from one area to another. Kohima village heads the list with more than 700 houses and it is recorded to have had 900 houses formerly. Angami villages frequently run to 400 houses or more. Ao villages also run to large numbers. Sema villages usually run to 100 houses.[14] Naga settlements are usually "fenced" for defence, some as the Semas, have double fence with a ditch between. *Morungs* or village dormitories, perhaps the finest of all Naga houses, are generally located in front of the gate or entrance of the village. Naga settlements are generally of "compact type" and the patterns are both *linear* and *amorphous*. The Ao and Lhota settlements are of the "linear" type. The regular central streets and the closely-serried houses on both sides, give the impression of something permanent and compact. The houses are so close together and the path in some places so narrow that the gables of the houses on opposite sides overlap overhead.[15] Sema settlements are "agglomerated" but "amorphous", the houses are scattered and loose, the arrangement is not "linear".[16] The Angamis have no separate cattle-pens or granaries but the Semas keep their cattle outside their village and they have, like the Lhotas, a separate collection of granaries, little huts in rows raised from the ground and usually placed at a short distance from the dwelling houses to secure them against fire.[17] It appears that among the Nagas, the "settlement-pattern" of the shifting cultivators tends to be "agglomerated" and "amorphous" and that of the terraced cultivators "compact" and "linear". Physical features and the problem of 'defence' have also lent much to the adoption of the "linear" pattern in the Naga Hills.

The Garos: The home of the Garos is a mass of dense irregular hills, 2000 ft. to 4000 ft. high. Rainfall is very heavy. Hills are densely wooded and bamboos are available in plenty. The Garos always build their houses on piles for protection and if possible on steep incline. Houses are built mainly with local bamboos. The walls are made of bamboo matting and the roofs are substantially covered with thatching grass, bamboo-leaves or cane-leaves. Almost every Garo possesses two houses,—one in the village and the other in his field for cultivating season. Field-houses or *borangs* as they are called, are often built high up in the trees in order that the inmates may be safe from elephants.[18]

The settlement-pattern of the Garos is agglomerated, amorphorus and semi-nuclear. Houses are arranged with some show of order around irregularly shaped open space called "atela" or "sara"—which is common to all. It may be a survival of an older *ring-fence type* of settlement, which developed in forest areas around clearings in the forest. The "nokpante" or village dormitory is placed in the centre or at one end. Here all strangers are accomodated and village meetings are also held. Outside the ring of the houses, like some of the Nagas, there is a collection of smaller huts or granaries in which paddy is stored in large baskets made of bamboo-strips.

CHOTANAGPUR REGION

The Birhors: Both the Uthlu Birhors or hunters and collectors and the Jaghi Birhors or settlers, have settlements called *tandas*, each "tanda" having about half-a-dozen huts. In the 'tanda' of the Uthlus the huts are mere improvised leaf-shelters in the form of low triangular *kumbas*. Smaller 'kumbas' are called *chu-kumbas* and larger ones *ora-kumbas*. Jaghi huts are also made of branches covered with leaves, but have better walls, some made of branches plastered with mud and few wholly of mud. The settlement-pattern of the Birhors is determined by the size of the "tandas" or "food-groups" and the houses are all built with locally available materials.[19]

The Mundas: The Munda houses are supported by wooden posts and have tiled roofs, but poorer Mundas thatch their houses with *sauri*, a kind of grass locally available in plenty. The posts and rafters are generally

made of śal wood obtained from the local jungles. The walls are generally of mud, but sometimes, specially in Western Parganas, walls of split bamboos are found. Windows are absent. For 'ropes' used in house-building, the Mundas gather "chop" or the fibre of a creeper growing wild in the jungles. Occasionally a little hemp called *jiuri* is grown for making ropes with.[20]

The settlement-pattern of the Mundas is agglomerated, amorphous and nuclear. Munda homesteads are huddled round the central Ākhrā—"an open space under some old wide-spreading tree." The survival of an older "ring-fence type" of settlement around clearings in forest may also be traced here. In this Ākhrā public meetings, panchāyats and village festivals are held.

The Oraons: The Oraon houses are also the products of their local environment. S. C. Roy says: Climatic control may also be traced in the material and construction of the Oraons' huts and in the furniture he ordinarily uses. These huts have walls of mud or of split bamboos, and either sloping roofs of burnt clay-tiles or thatches of wild grass supported on posts, beams and rafters made mostly of śāl wood. Bamboos, śāl trees and wild grass grow in abundance in his native jungles and waste lands; and although stone for building purposes may be had in plenty, he prefers wood, bamboo and wild grass as these are much easier of transport and collection and as owing to the absence of dampness in the atmosphere of the plateau, these stand no risk of decomposition. To keep out the hot winds of a tropical summer, the Oraon builds his huts without windows, and to drain off the rain-water that pours in torrents in the rainy months, he makes the roofs and thatches of his huts somewhat sloping."[21]

The settlement-pattern of the Oraons is similar to that of the Mundas and the survival of the same "ring-fence type" may be traced here also.

The Kharias: The unsettled Hill Kharias have small rectangular huts with little or no plinth. Walls are made of logs of śāl wood planted in the ground and plastered with mud. The roof generally consists of two sloping wooden frames thatched with grass or paddy-straw, supported on a few śāl posts. Settled Dudh Kharias have more substantial houses. Many houses have solid mud walls and a few are 4-thatched.[22]

From about four to a dozen families of Hill Kharias constitute a settlement and the huts are 'dispersed.' There is no nucleus of Ākhrā in

Hill Kharia settlements. The settlement-pattern of the Dudh Kharias, like that of the Oraons and the Mundas, is also of the 'agglomerated', 'amorphous' and 'nuclear' type.

The Santhals: The Santhals, living in the same environment and almost under same economic conditions, build their *oṛaks* or houses with the same materials—śāl logs, bamboos, *sauṛi* grass or paddy-straw and mud. Windows are absent. There are holes in the walls. The settlement-pattern of the Santhals is of the same 'agglomerated', 'amorphous' and 'nuclear' type.[23]

In all these settlement-patterns of the agricultural tribes of Chotanagpur region, the survival of an older "ring-fence type" is clearly traceable.

CENTRAL INDIA

The Gonds: While residing in the centre of Hindu population, the Gonds inhabit mud houses like lowclass Hindus. But in the jungles their huts are of bamboo-matting plastered with mud, with thatched sloping roofs. The settlement-pattern of the Gonds is of the same agglomerated and amorphous type, but not necessarily 'nuclear'. In typical Gond settlements the houses are all perched about on little bluffs or other high ground overlooking the fields, one two or three together.[24]

SOUTH INDIA

The Chenchus: The Chenchus of Hyderabad inhabit the hilly country north of the Kistna River which forms the most northern extension of Nallamalai Hills and is known as Amrabad Plateau. The Amrabad Plateau falls naturally into two definite parts, the lower ledge to the north-east with an elevation of about 2,000 ft. and the higher ranges to the south-west averaging 2,500 ft. The higher ranges are pure forest area and almost exclusively inhabited by the Chenchus.[25] Economically the Chenchus belong to the primitive hunting and gathering stage. They depend for nine-tenths of their food-supply on that which nature provides and only a limited number of families, by keeping domestic animals and cultivating small plots of corn and vegetables, are emerging from this lowest stage of human culture. The only division of labour in Chenchu society is that between the sexes, and economically perhaps more than socially, the family is a self-contained unit.[26] As the jungle Chenchus are largely dependent on the food collected

in the forest, they are forced to follow the train of seasons and of the year to leave the villages where they have their permanent houses for places with more water and plenty of edible plants and fruits, erecting temporary leaf-shelters and grass-huts. The size of the settlements vary considerably as the population is never stable. Usually the settlements of the Jungle Chenchus consist of six or seven houses and generally the kin-groups, constituting the socio-economic unit, inhabit these smaller settlements. A list of such settlements is given below:[27]

Chenchu Villages on the Upper Plateau

Irla Penta	...	...	11 houses	(2 settlements)
Medimankal	...	...	7 houses	
Boramacheruvu	...	...	6 houses	(2 settlements)
Appapur	...	...	9 houses	
Rampur	...	...	11 houses	(2 settlements)
Bikit Penta	...	...	3 houses	
Pullaipalli	...	...	3 houses	
Malapur	...	...	5 houses	
Pulajelma	...	...	13 houses	
Railet Banda	...	...	11 houses	
Vatellapalli	...	...	8 houses	
Sarlapalli	...	...	13 houses	(3 settlements)
Patur Bayal	...	...	2 houses	
Timmareddipalli	...	...	3 houses	
Koman Penta	...	...	8 houses	

Two types of settlement-patterns can be distinguished among the sites of permanent Chenchu villages. In the park-like country of the northern side of the plateau villages are built on level clearings surrounded by tall trees. The houses are generally arranged in a rough crescent, often open to the east, with a tendency for the blood-relations to build their houses together. The other type is found on the stretches of naked rock and the arrangement of the houses in this type of settlement is adapted to the surface of the rock formation. While the houses of these villages are generally built solidly with a circular wattle wall and a conical thatched roof, a great variety of huts and shelters ranging from small, roughly

conical gress-huts to one-sided leaf-shelters, are found in the temporary settlements.[28]

It is interesting to observe the process of "adaptation" and "acculturation" of the "village Chenchus", as they are called by their kinsmen living in the jungle, dwelling in the plains villages between Lingal and Achampet and in the villages in the westernmost part of the Amrabad ledge. In these settlements the houses are built of solid mud with roofs thatched with grass. Some have retained the round shape and conical roof of the traditional Chenchu dwelling, but others are rectangular like those of the local Telugu peasantry.[29] Here the Chenchu houses are grouped in twos and threes round a common courtyard, with walls painted in red and white in the manner typical of the Telugu country. "Culture-contact," as one of the causes of disappearance of the circular form of dwelling house in India, may be traced here among the "village Chenchus".

The Todas: Malabar, with its humid climate, closely resembles the eastern part of the Gangetic plain and most deltaic regions in luxuriant vegetation. It has loftier trees and more palms, its shores skirted with cocoanuts and its villages surrounded with Betelnut palm and Talipot groves. Here the Nilgiris (the name has probably been derived from the lovely expanses of the blue flowers of a kind of shrub growing here) rise precipitously from the west to extensive grassy downs and table lands seamed with densely wooded gorges, locally termed "sholas" and filled with evergreen forest. Usually it is near these sholas that Toda settlements are found. Toda houses are mainly built with bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan and covered with thatch, all local materials. Toda settlements or villages are called *mads*. The settlement-pattern is of the 'agglomerated' and 'amorphous' type. The *mad* consists of a small group of *ars* or huts and *mads* are scattered about the hills. There are dairies in the villages near the huts or commonly at a little distance. The plenty and variety of local vegetation has stabilised the pastoral economy and cattle-keeping of the Todas and they have settled into stable *mads*.[30]

The Veddas: The wilder forest Veddas of Ceylon built no houses in old days, but lived entirely in caves on hunting and gathering. Today they have settled down to "chena" cultivation, which is a sort of "slash-and-burn" agriculture. The Hennebedda Veddas, one of the descendants of the forest Veddas, make 'chenas' on which they temporarily live in back-covered huts.

They very often leave their chena-settlement and hunt and gather honey, living during such times in rock shelters within their own hunting boundary.[31] The houses of other groups of Veddas range from natural rock-shelters and simplest rough shelters consisting of trimmed overlaid branches of trees, to the windbreak-type and triangular tent-like houses. The houses are all constructed with locally available forest materials—the palm-leaf, the banana-leaf, the lotus-leaf, the bark of trees and grass etc. The size and pattern of their permanent and semi-permanent settlements are determined to a great extent by their economy of hunting-gathering and chena cultivation.[32]

HIMALAYAN REGION

The Bhotiyās or Bhots: The Bhotiya tract comprises the five inter-Alpine valleys of the Himalayan range bordering on Tibet. These are all situated at heights varying from 10,000 ft. to 13,000 ft. above sea-level. There are about 50 centres of population in the five valleys of varying altitudes, of which the following are important:[33]

Lwan* in Johar	19,000 ft.
Kuti in Byans	12,330 ft.
Milam in Johar	11,706 ft.
Bungnal in Darma	11,650 ft.
Niti in Garhwal	11,464 ft.
Martoli in Johar	11,070 ft.
Go in Darma	11,000 ft.
Mana in Garhwal	10,560 ft.
Garbyang in Byans	10,320 ft.

All these habitations bear the indelible stamp of their environment. Man's remarkable adaptability to his regional environment may be profitably studied here. Brought up in these bleak and brutal lands, the Bhots are not only brave and stern, but also nomadic in their habits, spending

* The highest known habitation of the world, according to Brunhes, is in Maritime Cordillera, Peru, at a height of 17,100 ft. above sea-level; but the Himalayan habitation of Lwan is some 2,000 ft. higher. According to Dr. Pant. Lwan is the highest habitation in the world.

S. D. Pant: The Social Economy of the Himalayans, Chap. II, p. 41 f.

only a month or two in their settlements. Bhotiya houses and camps are all built with local materials. They have two sets of dwellings, Johari Bhotiyas have three sets, in addition to the portable tent used in the intermediate stage. When migrations take place, everything is carried up and down and there are three distinct varieties of migrations among the Bhotiyas. The following is the general order of migrations:[34]

April-May: First trip *upward* of traders with goats and mules.
May-June: Second trip upward of traders.
Mid-June: Movement of Families with jibus etc.
June-July: Movement of Camp-followers.

Mid-September: First trip *downward.*
End of September: Second trip downward.
October: Families descend.

Here, in the cruel Himalayan regions, environmental and economic determination of the dwelling-house and the settlement-pattern of the Bhotiyas, appears to be more rigid.

(B) NON-TRIBAL HOUSES AND SETTLEMENT-PATTERNS IN INDIA

To try to give an account, even roughly, of the houses and settlement-patterns covering the whole of non-tribal India, when 'data' are inadequate, is really hazardous. Yet an attempt will be made here in the hope that out of this survey, though sweeping, something may emerge to indicate at least the relation of the environment and economy to the dwelling house and the settlement-pattern in India. We are leaving out of account those regions or zones, particularly cities, towns and prosperous suburban villages which can draw upon modern scientific resources of technique and transport in building activities. In the survey which follows we shall start from Bengal and proceed southward along the Eastern coast through Orissa, Andhradeśa, Drāviḍadeśa and then move upward along the Western coast through the Bombay Presidency and Gujrat, step into Madhya-pradesh (C.P.), Uttar-pradesh (U.P.), skirt Bihar and stop at Punjab.

Bengal: In *East Bengal* the houses are mainly built with bamboos and thatched with paddy-straw and grass, all local materials available in plenty. Tin is also used for roofing now-a-days. Walls are made of plaited

and chipped bamboos, woven into different designs. Houses are generally rectangular and roofs are 'sloped'. In *West Bengal* houses with complete mud walls and thatched roofs are frequently seen. Roofs are generally thatched with locally available paddy-straw or grass. Sometimes 'khola' or 'tile' is used, as in some areas of Howrah district. The convex-curve of the heavily thatched 4-roofed houses in West Bengal tends to assume a "round" shape. The homestead-plan of West Bengal is similar to that of East Bengal, which is generally an open courtyard surrounded by isolated huts of a single family or joint-family. But the settlement-patterns differ—in East Bengal the homesteads are usually "dispersed" in the midst of fields, in West Bengal they are 'agglomerated' and 'amorphous'. In the "bhāti" or low areas of East Bengal districts, 'settlement-pattern' takes the form of a line or series of lines consisting of dwelling houses, particularly along the river-line. These resemble "linear pattern" of settlements very closely. In Sylhet this type of settlement is known as "hāti bāndhā". In Sylhet, Tipperah, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh, in low regions where flood-menace is a regular physical feature, such "linear pattern" with strong bamboo fences is adopted for the protection of the houses in the settlement from the flood-waves of the river. In the Kāchār district, while the Kāchāri and Burman *bastis* are generally "amorphous", the Manipuri *bastis* are of "linear" pattern and "compact" type. Here the 'linear' and 'compact' pattern of the Manipuri *bastis* appears to be a development centering round the road.

In the non-tribal areas of Assam, the Asamiyās are very 'thinly' scattered in 'amorphous' settlements.

Orissa: In Orissa the houses have generally mud walls and sloped thatched roofs. They are mainly rectangular in shape. The homestead-plan does not essentially differ from Bengal's and the settlement-pattern resembles West Bengal's agglomerated and amorphous type. But in South Orissa (in Puri, Cuttack, etc.) settlements called "sāsaniyā grāma" or "Brāhman grāma" are found, having a strictly "linear" pattern. Houses are arranged in continuous rows along the sides of a central street. As we have already noticed, such "linear" patterns are found in the settlements of some of the Nagas in Assam, in the bhāti or low areas of East Bengal and therefore nothing definitely can be said in favour of its innovation and imposition by the Brāhmins in India. "Linear" pattern of settle-

ment is also found in some portions of Manbhum, especially those adjoining Orissa.

Andhradeśa: In Andhra, the houses in jungle area are all built with wooden posts and bamboos. Walls may or may not be plastered with mud. In plains, houses with simple mud walls are frequently found. Roofs are thatched with palm-leaves or grass on wooden frame. The circular-type of house is also found here distributed mainly along the coastal region. The settlement-pattern is generally of the "agglomerated" type.

Drāvidadeśa: In the Tamil country the houses have ordinary walls, but the roofs are tiled. Houses are "rectangular" in shape. Tiles are laid 2 or 3 deep, fixed with mortar, having "spines" at regular intervals.

Bombay Presidency: In South Bombay Presidency (Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar etc.) where rainfall is low the houses are flat-roofed and walls are made of mud and local stone. In Gujrat the houses are rectangular with sloped tiled roofs.

U.P., C.P. and Bihar: In U.P., C.P. and Bihar the houses have sloped tiled roofs and mud walls, but the orderly homestead-plan found in Bihar is generally absent in U.P. In Western U.P. where rainfall is low, the houses are all *flat-roofed.* Roofs are covered with earth on horizontally laid planks and walls are made of mud.

Punjab: In the rainy Kangra district of Punjab, rectangular thatched houses with sloped roofs are found, but elsewhere the houses are flat-roofed as in Western U.P. In some portions of Kangra district, both "sloped" and "flat-roofed rectangular houses are found in the same "settlement" and even in the same "homestead".

10. THE DWELLING HOUSES AND SETTLEMENT-PATTERNS IN INDIA AND THEIR RELATION TO ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

Some important characteristics of the dwelling houses and the settlement-patterns in India emerge out of the foregoing survey of some tribal and non-tribal regions, of which the following are notable:

(i) Houses are generally built with locally available materials, such as bamboo, wood, straw, grass, different kinds of leaves, mud etc. Stone is used where it is locally available.

(ii) The tendency to depend exclusively on local materials is clear-

ly revealed in the use of local jungle creepers, such as 'chop' and 'jiure' (Chotanagpur), strips of cane or bamboo (Assam and East Bengal), 'Rattan' (Todas of Nilgiri Hills), jute fibres etc., as ropes for knotting purposes.

(iii) Houses have generally "sloped" roofs in regions of normal, moderate and heavy rainfall, whether "thatched" or "tiled". Roofs are thickly thatched in places of heavy rainfall. Where rainfall is below normal, as in South Bombay Presidency, Western U.P., Punjab (except Kangra Dt.), the houses are generally 'flat-roofed'.

(iv) Houses in India are predominantly "rectangular" in shape with 'sloped' roofs. "Round" form of dwelling houses are now found in some regions of Andhradesa. The houses of the Chenchus are generally round and conical. Todas live in half-a-barrel shaped houses. Some Naga houses have semi-circular fronts. Heavily thatched convex-curved roofs of West Bengal huts clearly resemble 'round' form. No positive correlation, in the present state of our knowledge, can be established between the 'round' form of dwelling house and the surrounding environment or the prevailing economy of the people in India.

The correlation between the economy and the settlement pattern is found to exist roughly in the following way:

(i) Some sort of 'amorphous' and 'agglomerated' type of settlement-pattern is found to exist among the hunters and collectors, like the Uthlu Birhors, Hill Kharias and the wild Forest Veddas. This pattern may be called 'nuclear' in the sense that the huts are grouped round the nucleus of a well, a tree, a sacred grove, a shrine or a common dancing ground.

(ii) Most of the settlement-patterns of the settled agricultural tribes like the Garos, the Mundas, the Oraons, the Kharias, the Santhals etc., resemble an older "ring-fence type". It may be that they represent a survival or later development of an older "ring-fence type" of settlement which developed in forest areas around clearings in the forest. The settlements of the jungle Chenchus clearly indicate this course of development of the settlement-pattern from the older ring-fence type to the nuclear but amorphous, semi-circular or linear type.

(iii) It appears that physical features and the problem of 'defence' have lent much to the adoption of the "linear" and compact type of settlement-pattern, as is found in some parts of the Naga Hills and in the low

regions of East Bengal. The origin of the "linear" type of Brāhmana-grāma found in South Orissa may be traced back to those days when the Aryan-brāhmans first established their settlements in the midst of hostile "mlecchas" or predominantly non-Aryan people of Eastern India. The problem of 'defence' might have forced the Brāhmans to adopt the 'linear' type of settlement-pattern in the manner of some pre-Aryan tribes and traditionally, therefore, this type of settlement is still known as Brāhmana-grāma or Śāsanīya-grāma in this part of India.

These are some of the important characteristics of the dwelling houses and the settlement-patterns in India in relation to the prevailing environment and economy of the people in different regions.

III

11. SURVEY OF VARIOUS "FORMS" OF DWELLING HOUSES

Shapiro, in his valuable monograph *Homes Around the World,* includes all kinds of man-made shelters as "houses" and classifies them into the following basic *forms*:[35]

(i) *Open Shelters*: Lean-to's and Windbreaks.

(ii) *Circular House*: Beehive, Conical or Dome-shaped.

(iii) *Rectangular House*: Pitched or Flat-roofed.

Variations and elaborations of these *basic forms* are numerous. In this classification, caves are not included, because they are natural phenomena, not man-made constructions. It must be remembered also that the cave is not our primitive ancestors' first solution to housing problem. Prehistoric archaeologists have, of course, dug out many of the earliest tools and belongings from the caves, but that does not prove that the cave is the earliest shelter used by man. The fact that more material evidences of prehistoric home life have been found in open places than in caves, indicates that the windbreaks and lean-to's and other types of houses derived from them, are the most common *forms* of dwelling houses in prehistoric times.[36]

Open Shelters: Windbreaks and lean-to's are the most common types of open shelters. They may consist of simple structures of trees or

branches stuck into the soil to form a straight wall or semi-circular enclosure. The framework is covered with leaves, grass, bark, skin or some other suitable material. They may also be a very simple wall to deflect the wind or it may be a lean-to type where the wall is inclined to form a half-roof. These houses or shelters which are of the most primitive character, are widely distributed. It is at best a "makeshift" and provides only a temporary shelter to nomads living in warm climates, where its ability to shed rain and deflect wind justifies its prevalence.

Circular Houses: The circular and the rectangular houses are fundamentally different in their structures. The roof of the circular house may be a continuation of the walls, sloping inward. This type of construction simplifies the problem of the roof and the circular house naturally becomes the desirable form under primitive conditions. Circular houses with distinct roofs and overhanging eaves would, it seems, limit the size of the house in the beginning, since too great a diametre would create construction problems of considerable magnitude.[37] There are many variations of this basic circular form of house—the beehive type, the dome type, the conical type, the umbrella type, the semi-circular type etc. Leaves, grass, mats and barks can generally be used for roofing. The skeleton or structure may be a simple one of poles, interwined branches or of horizontal sticks tied to verticals stuck into the ground.

Rectangular Houses: The rectangular house allows greater floor space and more headroom and, therefore, represents a widely adaptable form of dwelling house. This form of house may be extended and enlarged with the technical skill of the primitive builders and becomes, therefore, the preferred form in the major portion of the primitive world.[38] In rectangular constructions one of the great problems is to protect the break between the roof and the vertical wall from leakage. In dry regions a flat roof may be adequate, but in areas of abundant rainfall the roof must be sufficiently sloped to allow water to drain off quickly. It is necessary also to shield the top of the wall from absorbing moisture directly from the rain or the run-off. The roof, therefore, assumes the form of a *hood* resting on the walls by means of a series of rafters which meet along the ridge and project beyond the walls as eaves. This solution to the problem makes it possible for the builder to enlarge his house when necessary at the expense of heavier wall construction to support the increased weight of the

roof. The simple inclined roof is by far the commonest form among these structures. Most of the highly developed houses found among the primitive peoples, belong to this rectangular category.

The primitive builders do not only build their houses conventionally on the ground, but they also build under-ground and above the ground. The *under-ground houses* are generally found in the most rigorous climates. The classic type is the Koryak house of North-East Asia and variations of it are found among the Eskimos and the prehistoric people of the Plains.[39] These underground houses have been traced over a large part of Eurasia and North America. Building the house above the ground is done by primitive builders by raised platforms, piles or in the trees. It is fairly common in Asia, Oceania and tropical America. *Tree-houses* raised as high as 40 ft. to 60 ft. in the branches of the trees, provide an excellent protection from human enemies and wild beasts. The Garos of Assam and the Uralis of South India build tree-houses. The Garos build them for safety in the fields from wild elephants and the Uralis for keeping their women in seclusion at adolescence, menstruation and even at child-birth. *Pile-houses,* by raising the floor of the house above the ground, also offer protection from flood-water, humidity, vermins, insects and snakes. Pile-houses are very common in the swampy and humid regions of India.

12. ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF HOUSES

It is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the origin, development and distribution of the basic *forms* of houses. It appears that there could not be any such single region where a particular form of house originated and that the house could not go through a single evolutionary sequence. House-building, in fact, is such an universal phenomenon and the basic 'types' of houses are so widely distributed in the world in different climatal regions that all efforts to track down the place of origin and diffusion and to follow up the single line of evolutionary sequence, are expected to fail. Shapiro says: "In any event, it seems most likely that the house went through multiple lines of development, according to circumstances, rather than a

single evolutionary sequence. It is more accurate to conceive of its development as varying among diverse peoples, taking directions that materials, environment and skill suggested. In some instances, indeed, little or no progress whatever can be detected, with the result that at present almost every stage of complexity may be seen in the contemporary housing of mankind."[40] Men live in caves today as they did thousands of years ago. Windbreaks and lean-to's provide shelters now as they did before. It seems as if the more the house changes, the more it remains the same old thing. "This very multiplicity of house types", says Shapiro, "found throughout the world leaves no doubt that the human habitation has had a complex history of development and adaptation".[41]

Herskovits, in his *Man and his Works—the Science of Cultural Anthropology,* says: "It is customary to think and write of most nonliterate folk as though their cultures were characterised each by a single house-type. This again simplifies what is, if not a complex matter, at least one which offers alternatives". He thus gives a summary survey of the distribution of different house-types in the world: ". . . the simplest shelters are the cave, the windbreak, the hut. More complex types are to be differentiated as to materials, design and permanence. They vary between the simple skin tent of the American Indian or the wooden lean-to erected in many parts of the world and the truly architectural structures of Peru and Mexico, West Africa and Indonesia. In North America are found the wigwam and tipi, tents covered with birch-bark and skins respectively, the multi-family dwellings of the South-Western Pueblos, the dug-out or half-underground sod-covered dwelling used by the Mandan of the Upper Missouri and other tribes, the plankhouse of the North-West coast, the Iroquois long house. In South and Central America, structures humbler than the monumental achievments of the Peruvian and Mexican builders are the lean-to and the beehive hut of the South; the thatched dwelling of the Guiana; the communal structures of the Amazonian tribes, made with timbered framework and covering space upto 10,000 sq. ft.; and the simple rectangular dwelling of the mountainous areas. The thatched rectangular or round-house characterises Polynesia, but in Melanesia a great variety of types exists, from the lean-to to the great gable-roofed men's house, with the front peak of its roof sometimes rising to a height of more than a hundred feet. Africa runs the gamut from the simple beehive

type shelter of the Hottentots, consisting of poles bent over to intersect at the top as a framework for a covering of skins, through the thatched round houses of East Africa and the rectangular ones of the Western part of the continent, to the architectural structures of such Sudanese cities as Kans and Timbuctoo, where the arch and the dome were known and liberally incorporated in buildings made of sun-dried, plastered brick".[42]

It is evident from this survey, though incomplete, that it is almost impossible to find out the origin of a particular form of house and to trace its diffusion and evolutionary sequence. But if building materials influence the design of the house, as they do to some extent, and if the forms that can be easily fashioned with one material, cannot be so easily done with another, *the utmost that can be said in favour of the adaptation of a particular form of house is this that, in different climatal and botanical regions of the world, the regional type of vegetation and climate has influenced the shape and form of the house and has subsequently led to its specialisation by a community of skilled house-builders.*

13. NATURAL CAVES AND ARTIFICIAL HOUSES

It is well-known that India also passed through the rigours of glacial and pluvial periods as other countries did and these drove the people in India, as elsewhere, into the caves. We have plenty of palaeolithic finds in India, and also we have today complete stratigraphic evidence of the Age and Culture-sequences of the Stone-Age Man in India.[43] It is fairly certain now that the Palaeolithic man must have entered India through the North-West and spread gradually throughout Central and Western India and from there to Southern India.[44] Palaeolithic caves, therefore, must have been abundant in India, of which the famous Billa Surgam caves of Karnul represent a type. The Veddas of Ceylon are also cave-dwellers, but they are probably early Neolithic people. As we have already stated, caves only do not represent the most primitive human habitation. Beyond the mountains and hills, the peoples who lived and hunted in wild forests, had to build artificial houses. These earliest artificial houses are the *windbreaks* and *lean-to's* and they still persist widely in India.

14. THE WINDBREAKS AND LEAN-TO'S: EKCHHĀPRĀ AND EKCHĀLĀ GHAR

The windbreaks and lean-to's still represent one of the most important forms of houses in India. They are known as *Ekpaliyā* or *Ekchhāprā* in Bihar[45] and as *Ekchālā Ghar* in Bengal. This windbreak and lean-to is the typical house of the Andamanese, living in the forests of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The Andamanese hut consists of sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two shorter ones at the back. Their permanent, semi-permanent and temporary huts are nothing but simple windbreaks and their hunting camps are simple lean-to's of leaves.[46] As the Andamanese represent one of the most primitive peoples living almost in complete isolation from time immemorial, free from all culture-contacts, we can pertinently assume that their form of house is *one of the earliest forms* surviving intact through ages. We know that the earliest human inhabitants of India were the Negritos, who have survived in an almost unmixed form in the Andaman Islands and in mixed form in some specially isolated regions in India. Judging from its traces among some of the forest tribes of Southern India like the Kadars, among the Bagdis of the Rajmahal Hills in Bihar and some of the Naga tribes, particularly among the Konyaks in Assam, it has been suggested by Dr. Guha that though now submerged, it had at one time a much wider distribution in India.[47] *It seems likely, therefore, that the crudest type of windbreak and lean-to is the earliest type of widely distributed dwelling house in India, probably introduced by the Negritos, India's earliest inhabitants and enlarged and extended by the later Proto-Australoids into a variety of secondary types.*

15. THE "CIRCULAR FORM" OF HOUSE

The *rectangular* form appears to be the more preferred form of dwelling house in India and the *circular* form, though not dominant, is significant. In West Bengal, though the dwelling houses are not exactly "circular", the convex-curve of the heavily thatched roofs tends to assume a "round" shape. But the Bengali *golās* or granaries are predominantly "circular" in form, though ordinary "rectangular" granaries are found in some parts of North and East Bengal. In some villages in the Contai Subdivision of

Midnapore District (W. Bengal) "ghāni-ghars' or oil-pressing houses" are found which are 'circular' in form. Across West Bengal the *harisabhā* (Sacred centres of devotional singers) in Manbhum and some Muria *ghotuls* or dormitories in Bastar State are "circular" in form.[48] In Andhradeśa, along the eastern coast from Vizagapattam to Nellore, "circular" type of dwelling house is dominant. The Chenchus of Hyderabad build circular form of dwelling houses. This "circular" form, it is interesting to note, gradually thins out westwards, where it becomes mixed up with the Madhyabhārat and Marathi type of rectangular houses. In the Dravidadeśa the "circular" form of dwelling house vanishes and a specialised rectangular form of house with deeply laid tiled roof is found. In the Malabar region, the dwelling houses of the Todas are half-a-barrel shaped and the vast majority of Toda dairies are now of this shape.[49] But the other form of Toda dairy is "circular" with a "conical roof". There are only three or four of these dairies in existence and others have only fallen into disuse in recent times. The best known of these dairies is that at Nódrs. It has received the name of "Toda Cathedral". It is perhaps the finest architectural specimen of the circular and conical house-type in India, among India's one of the most primitive tribes. Originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of Toda dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali.* At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh* and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh.* "It seems probable", says Dr. Rivers, "that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*".[50] It seems likely, therefore, that the circular house-type has gradually fallen into disuse over a wider region in India, owing possibly to the lack of extra time, labour and skill involved in its construction and other material and non-material causes. The most plausible cause of disappearance of circular form of dwelling houses in India seems, however, to be the disappearance of "skilled builders" in some regions.

Now *when* shall we look for the introduction of this circular form of house in India? Neither the Andhra people, nor the Todas of the Nilgiris, represent racially the earliest settlers of India. All of them may be broadly included within varieties of "Mediterranean types". It is not possible also

to indicate the antiquity of the original "circular form" from the Bengali *golas,* Manbhum *harisabhās,* Muria *ghotuls,* and Bhuiya dormitories. We know that before the incursion of the Mediterranean types into India, there were Negritoid and Proto-Australoid drifts into India. We know that in the Andaman Islands this Negrito race has survived almost in an unmixed form without any possible culture-contact. Once these Andamanese, as it has been lately discovered by Prof. Radcliffe Brown, erected communal huts of circular type in their permanent headquarters. Prof. Brown says: "The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 ft. in diametre and 20 or 30 ft. high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side".

"Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman and by the Jarwa, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island ... Mr. Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the Akar-Bale tribe there are several places with names such as *Parun Bud* and *Golugma Bud,* which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village which is called *baraij*".[51]

This finding of Prof. Radcliffe Brown indicates that the *circular form* of dwelling house once existed and even was highly specialised by the Negritos in the Andaman Islands and subsequently it fell into disuse owing to the labour, time and skill involved in its construction, the same reasons perhaps for which the Toda conical dairies and the Bengali circular granaries are fast dying out. Moreover, the crudest possible subsistence economy of the Andamanese might have hindered the growth of a group, class or guild of "skilled builders" who must be maintained from the 'surplus' product. Rivers has spoken of 'special architects' among the Todas[52] and Seligmann have mentioned that "there is evidence that a hundred years ago there were organised communities of house-building Veddas."[53] But these skilled builders are dying out, rather already dead, among the Todas and the

Veddas, mainly under the heavy pressure of backward economic conditions. Toda conical dairies have, therefore, fast disappeared. Similar economic conditions are leading to the gradual elimination of the specialised *gharāmis* or house-builders of Bengal and the round-shaped *golās* of Bengal are therefore fast vanishing. But the most significant exception is the circular *gade illu* (permanent house) of the Chenchus of Hyderabad. The predominant form of dwelling house among the Chenchus is still the circular form, but there is no communal house or dormitory in any Chenchu village.[54] The Chenchu houses are individual family houses, and a Chenchu, with the help of his near relations and friends, builds his own house. Men and women both participate in construction, like the Andamanese. But while the *communal* circular huts of the Andamanese might be as big as 60 ft. in diametre and 20 or 30 ft. high at the centre, the *family* circular huts of the Chenchus are generally between 8 and 15 ft. in diametre and 6 and 10 ft. high at the centre. The reduction of the size is due to the reduction of the living unit, from 'community' to 'family'. We have already seen that the socio-economic unit of the Chenchus is the 'family' and the size of the dwelling house is adapted to this basic unit. It appears that inspite of the most primitive subsistence economy of the Chenchus and the consequent lack of growth of any group or guild of "skilled builders", the Chenchus have been able to maintain this oldest traditional circular form of dwelling-house, mainly due to the smallness of the family-unit houses and individual specialisation. There is evidence also that in the plains villages where the Chenchus have come in contact with the Telugus, they are gradually abandoning the traditional circular form of dwelling and adopting the rectangular mud houses of the Telugus.[55] Culture-contact, therefore, might have been one of the causes of disappearance of the circular form of dwelling house in India in earliest time.

We have already noted that the circular form of dwelling house is the predominant form among the Negritos in East Africa. It was once the dominant form of house among the Andamanese, and is still today the prevalent form among the Nicobarese and the Chenchus of Hyderabad. In the most primitive type among the Chenchus there survive some of the somatic characteristics of the most ancient stratum in Indian racial history, which Eickstedt terms 'Malid'. In Dr. Guha's opinion there is a submerged Negrito strain in the Chenchus. This concurs, to a certain extent, despite

terminological divergence, with Eickstedts' assumption of a Proto-Negritid element in his Malid sub-race.[56] There can be, therefore, little doubt that the Chenchus are not only racially but also culturally survivals of most ancient India.[57] And in view of these evidences, *it does not seem very much unlikely that the circular or round form of house was adopted by the Negritos in India, probably both as communal and family dwelling houses, and was adapted, modified and elaborated by later Proto-Australoids and Mediterraneans.* As the Negritoid hunters and gatherers seem to have spread out to different regions of India, the distribution of the "circular form" of house also seems to have been once wider in India. The causes of disappearance of this round form of house as a dwelling house might be economic, social and cultural. Socio-economic causes might have led to the extinction of the 'skilled builders' and "communal living" and to the consequent disappearance of the round form of dwelling house. Social organisation based on individual family unit has conspicuously helped in the preservation of this oldest traditional form among the Chenchus in Hyderabad, but culture-contact of the plains Chenchus with the Telugus is leading to its gradual disappearance.

The other plausible cause might be that there was some "single centre" of origin, inside or outside India, where this circular form of house "originated", where it was "elaborated" and wherefrom its "diffusion" took place to other regions. But the data available at present strictly forbids any such adventurous location of the "centre of origin" and then following up the track of "diffusion" from that centre.

IV

16. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF A VILLAGE

A 'village' may be defined as a small permanent collection of people with their homes and other material and cultural tools. The Toda name for a village '*mad*' or '*mand*', according to Dr. Rivers, "denotes rather a place—a place connected in any way with the active life of the people".[58] The origin of the village may therefore be traced to the active life of a group of people which needs and makes possible permanent collective dwelling in a more or less fixed space. This sort of permanent collective dwelling is not always possible in the nomadic hunting stage. The nomadic bands generally tend to converge on the seasonal food-centres, and the

dwelling-centres change with the food-centres in different seasons. But some sort of permanent pattern or arrangement of spatial organisation has frequently been noticed in these nomadic hunting bands. Each family or household has a regular place in the camp lay-out and sets up its dwelling in that position, regardless of where the band may be. Thus the Andaman Islanders live in small bands averaging about 30 individuals which move about through a fixed territory on a sort of circuit. The dwellings are simple open-fronted sheds arranged on an elliptical plan. In addition to the huts occupied by family groups, a bachelor's hut is provided for unmarried youths, always located to the right of the main entrance of the camp. Each family normally occupies a hut so many places away from that of the head-man, whose dwelling is also a fixed point. All huts face inwards towards an open space—the dancing ground. At one side of the 'dancing ground' is found the 'cooking place', generally close to bachelor's huts', because they attend to cooking. Besides a public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in the hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight.[59] This is the Andamanese village-plan, determined by its socio-economic organisation.

This semi-permanent pattern of spatial organisation in the nomadic hunting stage evolves into the permanent spatial arrangement of a village under conditions of Neolithic economy. The essential pre-requisite of a settled village-life is the ability to produce sufficient food to relieve the group of the stark necessity of nomadism. Without a regular and abundant food-supply from whatever source there could not be any settled life and one 'type' of group-life which grows up in stable economic conditions is the 'village'. *We can therefore infer that the Negritos, the earliest inhabitants of India, might have evolved some sort of a semi-permanent pattern of spatial organisation like the Andamanese village, which was later developed into more permanent village by the Niśādic or Proto-Australoid hunters and shifting cultivators and was shaped ultimately into the stable pattern of the typical Indian village by the Dravidian-speaking Dāsa-dasyus or Mediterraneans, practising Neolithic and Chalcolithic economy.*

17. THE "OLDEST" VILLAGE KNOWN IN INDIA

The Neolithic 'settlements' have been adequately explored in the East Mediterranean Zone and they clearly indicate the changeover from the

food-gathering to the food-producing economy, through the transitional stage of 'mixed economy'. The accumulated debris of these primitive settlements forms a regular 'tell' and the entire East Mediterranean Zone is studded with thousands of such tells, working back from the highest level of which to the depth of the underlying deposits we can get a glimpse of the age of the oldest village on the site and a rough outline of its 'pattern'.[60] In the earliest level of the Tell Hassuna mound in Mesopotamia, camping sites of a semi-nomadic people have been unearthed, on the top of which permanent habitations with little houses set round a courtyard and number of grain-storage bins have been found. Houses are all built with mud. Such a sequence has been found to exist at Tepe Sialk mound in North Persia, in Palestine and in other Mediterranean regions. In the present stage of our archaeological knowledge we cannot work out any such clear-cut sequence in Western India, where we must look for the introduction of agriculture in India. But there are indications of this sequence in the Baluchistan cultures which cannot be ignored. The Arab "tell" is the Sindhi *daro,* the N. W. Frontier's *dheri* and the Baluch *dhamb.* We are in a much better position to work out roughly this sequence in North Baluchistan where, at a typesite in the valley of the Zhob river we have, layer by layer, an invaluable stratified succession of human habitations in a large *dhamb* called Rana Ghundai (R.G.). It is by the careful digging up of this *dhamb* and the collection and classification of its contents layer by layer that the cultural sequence has been ascertained, the layers forming as it were the leaves of a book of unwritten history.[61] R.G.I., at present represented only at the type-site, awaiting further discovery at the bottoms of yet unexcavated *dhambs,* consists of no structural remains but recurrent occupation of the site by semi-nomadic people with impermanent huts or tents. In R.G. II we see the new-comers building houses with boulder footings over the compacted debris of R.G. I. Nothing is known of the lay-out of the settlements in R.G. III except at Nal, where houses with rooms or courts varying from 11 feet by 13 feet to tiny thickwalled chambers only 5′ square or less have been found. At Moghul Ghundai a possible defence wall to the settlements have been traced. The average size of the settlements at Amri in Sind seems to have been something under two acres. At the site of Nundara, discovered by Stein in South Baluchistan, groups of rooms fall into blocks about 40′ square, within which there

may be eight or ten subdivisions of size varying from large rooms or courtyards, each associated with a half-a-dozen smaller ones. Culturally, though not chronologically, the R.G. I and Amri settlements have interesting parallels in Tell Hassuna and Tepe Gawra in Mesopotamia. These Sind and Baluchistan settlements indicate also the changeover from the food-gathering to the food-producing economy in India, through a possible transitional stage of 'mixed economy'. They may be, roughly speaking, 5000 to 7000 years old. They may not represent the oldest 'settlement' in India which may still lie hidden under unexcavated mounds, but they do represent the oldest village-pattern known to archeological record in India.

The outline of social organisation which emerges out of these village-patterns may be something like this: Groups of families constitute a village, subsisting on cattle-keeping, shifting cultivation and some crafts. Each room is occupied by a family and each block of rooms by a group of families. Rooms, big or small, may also be used as corn-storage houses or granaries and some may serve the purpose of 'pens' for domesticated animals. Courtyards are used in common. Villages are walled. Houses are built with locally available 'stone' and one of the reasons for building groups of houses or rooms in blocks might be 'stone' and inefficient 'tools'. Such spatial aggregates or 'villages' formed social organisms whose members all cooperated for collective tasks. The size of the peasant communities in Western India was probably largely determined by the factor of self-sufficiency. At different sites in Sind and Baluchistan it has been found that houses are connected by roadways 6′ to 8′ and alleys 3′ to 2′ 6″. Such public ways must have been communal, not individual works. The orderliness evident in the arrangement of the dwelling houses along definite streets at different sites in Sind and Baluchistan, has also been found to exist in the settlements of Egypt, Europe and South Russia. Such orderliness of spatial arrangement seems to be the expression of a definite form of socio-economic organisation, based mainly upon mutual co-operation.[62]

18. THE PRE-ARYAN VILLAGE-PATTERN

We have already discussed the 'types' of 'settlement-patterns' in India in relation to their environment and economy. Here we shall dis-

cuss the evolution of this "pattern" historically, through "villages" and "cities". The peasants' settlements in Western India mentioned above, probably reflect the village-pattern of the different 'types' of Mediterraneans. The picture of the earlier village-patterns of the Negritos and Proto-Australoids cannot be accurately drawn as almost all the surviving patterns have been adversely affected by the economic and cultural traits of different peoples who followed them. The village-pattern of the earliest Negritos in India may roughly be drawn from the Andamanese 'model', already described. In India proper, the 'settlements' of the Birhors of Chotanagpur, the Veddas of Ceylon and the Chenchus of Hyderabad, may still serve as examples of earlier types of Proto-Australoid villages. Settlements of both the Jaghi and Uthlu Birhors consist of about half-a-dozen or more huts. These settlements are called *"tandās"* or *"food-groups"*. By the side of the most Jaghi settlements is a sacred grove called Jayar and in both Jaghi and Uthlu *tandās,* at the end of the settlement, is a *giti-ora* or sleeping hut for bachelors.[63] This may roughly indicate the earlier village-pattern of the Proto-Australoids. The gradual evolution of the Proto-Australoid village in India from this semi-permanent to a permanent pattern, may still be traced in the villages of the Veddas. A short summary of the 'types' of the various Vedda settlements is given below to indicate roughly the stages of this evolution. The summary is based on the direct observations of Seligmann about 40 years ago:[64]

Kovil Vanami Veddas: There are about 50 families. They lead a wandering life of hunters and collectors for half the year, when they live in rock-shelters. For the rest of the year they pay attention to *chena* cultivation. Two or three families may make chenas together, though five or six families would often join to make a single chena. They build huts, form a temporary 'settlement' and live together.

Dambani Veddas: Some 20 families living in tolerably built houses keep buffaloes and cultivate chena. The chena is big enough to supply their own needs and also to permit some amount of exchange trade.

Elakotaliya and Kalukalaebo Veddas: There are about 12 mud huts, all well built. Game is scarce, chenas are flourishing.

Yakure Veddas: They live in about 40 mud houses, compactly built. The settlement looks like a 'town'. Game is scarce, but the chenas are very flourishing.

Here the outline picture of the permanent village-pattern of the Proto-Australoids may be seen roughly emerging from the shifting stage. *The basic feature of the pattern, both in the food-gathering and food-producing stages, is 'self-sufficiency'. The different 'types' of Mediterraneans, it seems likely, later adopted and enriched this basic 'village-pattern' of India and gave it a more lasting shape on the basis of their more advanced 'economy' and 'technique'.*

19. THE VILLAGE IN THE VEDIC AGE

By the time of the composition of even the earliest hymns of Ṛgveda, the Aryans settled down to agriculture and village life in India. In Ṛg-veda, one passage (X. 23) refers to the clearing of forests.[65] It might be that the Aryans selected the site for settlement in forest lands, cleared the forests, divided the homestead and ploughlands among themselves, probably in consultation with their headmen and founded a village or grāma. Such terms as *Kshetrā-sā*, *Kshetra-jesha*, *Kshetraṁ-jaya* and *Kshetrasya-pati,* meaning "gaining land", "acquisition of land", "conquering cultivated land" and "lord of the field", indicate that the Vedic Āryas not only destroyed, conquered and occupied the towns and cities of the Pre-Aryan Dāsa-dasyus, but also destroyed many villages, ousted the peaceful Dāsa-dasyu, Niśāda-Śabara villagers, occupied by force their homestead and ploughlands and rebuilt their own villages upon their ruins. In this process of occupation of lands and villages by conquest, it seems very likely that the Aryans would try to adapt for themselves the Pre-Aryan village-pattern and remould it slowly in their own socio-ideological pattern. The pastoral Aryan patriarchs and victors imposed upon the vanquished Pre-Aryan villages the rigid patriarchal system of ownership and inheritance of private property and also a hierarchy of rank and status. Professors Macdonell and Keith remark that the Vedic villages were apart from or close to one another and were connected by roads. They contained granaries. Presumably they consisted of detatched houses with enclosures.[66] The village was firmly founded upon individual tenure of land, which meant tenure by a family. The village itself was the aggregate of families. The

social unit was the patriarchal family comprising several members living under father or eldest brother, called the *kulapa*. An outline picture of the Vedic village may therefore be drawn in this way:[67]

> Several *Kulas* or *Gṛhas* (families) constitute a *Grāma*, each *Kula* residing in detatched *Gṛhas* (houses) with enclosures. The house of the Grāmaṇī or the village headman is probably situated in the centre of the village. The entire village may or may not be fenced. Round this *Amā* or homestead land is the belt of *Kṛṣi* or ploughland, owned by separate *Kulas* and rigidly marked. Beyond the *Kṛṣi* land is the *Gavya, Gavyūti* or pasture-land, used collectively. Beyond the *Gavyūti* is the *Araṇya*, a kind of no-man's-land, home of the hermits and outcasts. Beyond the *Araṇya* is the *Dīrghāraṇya* or dense forest-land.

20. ARYANISATION AND HINDUISATION OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE

The primitive communal foundations of the Pre-Aryan village was slowly and steadily being shattered to pieces in the process of its Aryanisation and Hinduisation. The village-pattern was undergoing a radical change and a new "collective" based on a new economy, was taking shape. Land-grants of kings, recorded in some of the *Brāhmaṇas*, were already creating India's first landlords. The *Sujātas* and *Maghavanas*, rich nobles of high birth and huge wealth, were already crystallizing into superior 'castes' and exploiting 'classes'. In the Jātakas we see the sorry spectacle of healthy peasants leaving their homes to toil as hired labourers in the estates of non-cultivating landlords, estates of 1000 karīsas (approx. acres) or more, cultivated by 500 ploughs with hirelings to ply them.[68] We see the distinction of labour between *ukkaṭṭha* and *hīna* or high and low, the growth of a class of *hīnasippas* or despised arts, the *dāsa-kammakāras* or various grades of slaves, serfs, unfree and dependent labour.[69] A hierarchy was being imposed upon different occupational groups, reinforced strongly with primitive 'taboos' and 'beliefs', resulting in the formation of 'castes' and 'classes', with the Brāhmins and the Kshatriyas at the apex and infinite gradations of unfree labour at the base of the social pyramid. In the village-patterns of the Vedic, Buddhist and Hindu India, this social stratification has been progressively reflected. The potters, carpentars, tanners, weavers,

metal-workers, other craftsmen and occupational groups were already being segregated into separate villages in Vedic Age. Even this tendency of occupational segregation might be operating in Pre-Vedic times.[70] But in Pre-Buddhist, Buddhist and Hindu India this tendency became dominant and segregation and stratification of villages drifted towards perfection. In the Jātakas we find different *orders* of villages—*Gāmaka* (small village), *gāma* (village), *Nigama-gāma* (Market-village), *Paccantagāma* (Border village), *Dvāra-gāma* (Suburban village), and also different *groups* of villages like *Kevaṭṭa-gāma* (Fishermen's village), *Kammāra-gāma* (Smiths' village), *Nesāda-gāma* (Hunters' village), *Vaddhaki-gāma* (carpenters' village), *Nalakāra-gāma* (basket-makers' village) and villages of Brāhmans, Caṇḍālas and other castes and classes.[71]

*This variety of village-patterns was mainly the result of the division of labour between agriculture and industry on a considerable scale, made possible for the first time in India by some sort of organisation of various grades of 'unfree' and 'dependent' labour and by pressing this tremendous labour force, so long unorganised and wasted under conditions of "primitive economy", into the socio-economic services of the country.** The "tribal collectives" were being replaced by "village communes" based on occupational division of labour. That was perhaps the most revolutionary contribution of the Aryans to the economic and social history of India. But this traditional "collective" and also the "static technology" checked the dynamic growth of Indian villages and towns, sapped their vitality, and decadence set in. *The 'collectives' cried halt to the expansion of 'trade' and the stagnant technology diverted the "accumulated capital' towards the eternal "land". India began to produce, therefore, "Lords of Land" of various grades, instead of "Lords of Capital".* Villages were subjected more and more to the economic and political exploitation of the towns and

* This is the historic role of *slavery* in antiquity. The celebrated statement of Max Beer that "the moral and political collapse of the old world was due chiefly to slavery—to unfree labour, to the despising of productive activity, and the resulting stagnation of the technology of labour" (*Social Struggles in Antiquity*, p. 109)—can certainly be applied with equal force to ancient India. But *slavery* in ancient India took diverse forms under different historical conditions, from *patriarchal* and *domestic slavery* to *slavery in commodity production* and that also within the fold of castes, communes and collectives. The form of *slavery*, therefore, in ancient India must be studied separately and all efforts to fit together the phrases of "historical materialism" into a neat system in India should be cautiously avoided.

relegated to the background. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (321-300 B.C.) we see that the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins by inducing the foreigners to immigrate or by diverting the surplus population of crowded centres (Svadēśābhishyandavamanēna vā). A village should consist of not less than a hundred families and of not more than 500 families of agricultural people of Śūdra caste, extending as far as a Krōśa or two. There should also be organised 'unions' of villages. A *sthānīya* is to be set up in the centre of 800 villages, a *droṇamukha* in the centre of 400 villages, a *khārvātika* in the centre of 200 villages, and a *saṅgrahaṇa* in the midst of 10 villages. These were trade-centres where villagers could meet. *It should be noted that villages stratified and segregated on caste-and-class basis must be organised into such 'unions' to be self-sufficient 'collectives'.* Vāgurikas (trap-keepers), Śabaras (archers), Pulindas (hunters), Candālas and other Araṇyacharas (wild tribes) would guard these villages. "No company other than the one of local birth (Sajātādanyassanghah), and no guilds of any kind other than local co-operative guilds (Samutthāyikādanyassamayānubandhah) shall find entrance into the villages of the kingdom. Nor shall there be in villages buildings (Śālah) intended for sports and plays. Nor, in view of procuring money, free labour, commodities, grains and liquids in plenty, shall actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons (Vāgjīvana) and bards (Kuśīlava) make any disturbance to the work of the villagers; for helpless villagers are always dependent and bent upon their fields".[12] From the concluding line—"for helpless villagers are always dependent and bent upon their fields"—it seems that these injunctions were issued for imposition upon peasants' villages, that is, the villages of the Śūdras. Villages had *Brahmasomāraṇyas or* sylvan retreats for religious practices, *Tapovanas* for hermits, *Sētushus* or reservoirs and lakes, *Puṇyasthānas* or places of pilgrimage, *pushpa-phala-vāta* or orchards, but they were not meant either for the bulk of Śūdra peasants or millions of grāmabhṛtakas (village labourers), dāsas and āhitakas (hirelings). The peasants or the Śūdras had simply their *kedāras* or paddy-fields for cultivation and recreation.

This shadow of decadence deepened in the villages in the Hindu Period. The traditional "collective" could not resist the inevitable decadence of Indian villages for long. Whether in the *Purāṇas* or in the *Śilpaśāstras,* the *Grāma-lakshaṇa* is a secondary theme, the dominant theme being Rāja-

prāsāda and Devālaya, with their adjuncts and accessories. Manushyālaya or the human dwelling house recedes conspicuously into the background. In Nagara-vinyāsa (Town-planning) and Grāma-vinyāsa, more attention is paid to the location and construction of palaces and temples than to the social planning of human houses or to the amenities of the human dwellers. The division of villages in the *Mānasāra* into eight classes called daṇḍaka, sarvatobhadra, nandyāvartā, padmaka, swastikā, prastara, kārmuka and chaturmukha—is concerned more with abstract 'designs' than with concrete social and economic 'planning'.[73]

21. NAGARA-VINYĀSA: TOWN-PLANNING FROM THE PRE-VEDIC TO THE HINDU AGE

In the history of human civilisation the Nagara or the city rises in the background of a new economic organisation provided by metallurgy, wheeled transport, sailing ship, specialist craftsmen and traders.[74] It rises out of the need of all for combination and cooperation, communication and communion. *The city is therefore both a new economic organisation and a socio-cultural emergent.*[75] The birth-mark of the city is its purposive social complexity. The city represents a new magnitude in human settlement. Soon after 3000 B.C. the walls of Erech in Mesopotamia enclosed an area of 2 sq. miles, Ur covered 220 acres in about 2500 B.C., Assur 118 acres before 2000 B.C. and Mohenjodaro and Harappā in India about a square mile in about 2500 B.C. Urban houses were more commodious than any Neolithic house and they covered larger areas and were divided into a greater number of rooms.[76] This progress of housing and street-laying in India, from the Neolithic villages to the Chalcolithic cities, is indicated in the following table:[77]

NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENTS

Western India

Sizes of Settlements	*Area of Houses*	*Width of Streets*
Average 2 acres in North and South Baluchistan and Sind.	Large Rooms: 15ft. by 15 ft.	6 ft. to 8 ft. (Nundara)
	Small Rooms: 8 ft. by 5 ft. or less (Nundara)	3 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. (Lohri and Kohtras Buthi)

Cities of the Indus Civilisation

Area of the City	*Area of Houses*	*Width of Streets*
Mohenjodaro: 1 sq. mile Harappa: Little less than a sq. mile.	Large: 54 ft. by 60 ft. Small: 27 ft. by 30 ft.	First street (M)—33 ft. Smaller streets (M)—9 ft. to 12 ft. Lanes and Alleys—4 ft. upwards.

Sizes of Neolithic Mud Bricks in W. India

Nal	:	12" by 12" by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches
R. Ghundai	:	13" by 6-8" by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches
P. Ghundai	:	14" by 9" by 2 inches
Nal	:	23" by 9" by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches
Dabar kot	:	24" by 16" by 4 inches

At Mohenjodaro

Burnt Bricks

From	10.25" × 5" × 2.25"
to	20. 5" × 8.5" × 2.25"

Unburnt Bricks

From	13.9" × 7.35" × 3.5"
to	15" × 7.15" × 3.1"

The spatial expansion resulted in the multiplication and separation of rooms for cooking, sleeping, storage and other purposes. All the 'prosperous' houses in the Indus cities had specially constructed bathrooms in the third millenium which in contemporary and later Mesopotamian cities were not so universally found. Individual latrines and public bathrooms have also been found in the Indus cities. A magnificent system of covered sewers and vaulted subterranean conduits drained Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley before 2000 B.C. which the medieval cities of India, even New Delhi about 4000 years later, entirely lacked. It may be that the lords of Mohenjodaro and Harappa administered their cities, as stated by Wheeler, "in a fashion not remote from that of the priest-kings or governors of Sumer and Akkad" and that the socio-economic structure of the Indus cities "conformed in principle with that of the other great riverine civilisations of the day."[78] But the lords of the Indus cities tried to observe some of the basic principles of city-planning which their contemporaries in Near East could not. The concentration of various trades and industries into

specific quarters or streets, the storage of grains in granaries and the municipal flour-mills, suggest some sort of industrial organization and employment of labour (not necessarily "slave labour" as suggested by Wheeler) in the cities of Sind and Punjab. The so-called "workmen's quarters" marshalled, in the words of Wheeler, "like a military cantonment", does not bespeak "authority" only, but *they may also express the inefficiency of the "copper tools" of the builders of the Indus cities.*

This nagara-vinyāsa of the Mediterraneans was adopted by the later Aryans who were not city-builders. *The first impact of the new economic order, that is, the division of labour between agriculture and industry on a considerable scale, made possible by the utilisation and organisation of abundant surplus labour—led to the growth of a large variety of "towns" in ancient India.* The *Pattanas* (Port-towns), the *Nigamas* (Market-towns), the *Vihāras* (University towns), the *Durgas* (Fort-towns), the *Rājadhānīs* (Capital cities) grew up and along with them a host of *khuddakanagarakas, sākhānagarakas,* and *ujjaṁgalanagarakas* or suburbun towns. But the cities, like the villages, began to decline with the complete stagnation of the new economic order on which they were based. *As "trade", with the persistent drag of the self-sufficient "collectives" behind, could not expand beyond a certain limit, the cities also could not flourish for long.* The trading towns of ancient India began to lose their importance, and court-towns and religious towns began to grow up. The city-planners were occupied with the designs of the palaces of kings, their columns, towers and pinnacles, their top-storeys (uparimatalas), bed-chambers (sirigabbhas), gambling halls (jūtamaṇḍalam) and harems (antapuras and oradhas) where sixteen thousand dancing girls (solasahassanātakitthiyo) could be accomodated. The Asoka garden, Kaṇṇikā garden, Pātali garden, Uyyāna-nagara or garden-house, Ārāmas or pleasure parks were all well-planned that the king might indulge in various pleasures. The lords of Harappa and Mohenjodaro could not dream of executing a 'city-plan' like this with all their "bureaucratic authority" which the lords of later Buddhist and Hindu cities carried out without any compunction.

With the rise of the Brāhmanical Hinduism, the cities assumed more imposing forms but began to drift away from the basic principles of social and human planning. The Purānas, Mānasāra and other Śilpaśāstras concentrated more and more on the mechanical set-up of different occupa-

tional groups, castes and classes in the city, with Gods, Kings and Brahmins dominating the entire scene. The *Agnipurāṇa,* for example, presents the following city-plan[79]

North: Brahmins, Pious men, Judges and Agricultural traders.

South: Vaiśyas, Dancers and Musicians, Prostitutes.

East: Kshatriyas, Military officers, Spies.

West: Ministers, Treasurers, Armament traders, Vaidyas and Śūdras.

This is an outline of the plan. There are details of the set-up in the north-east, north-west, south-east and south-west corners of the city. Devālayas or temples of Vishnu, Indra and other benevolent gods must be erected on all corners of the city for its protection against the piśāchas, devils and demons. In the Mānasāra, towns are divided into eight classes —rājadhānī, nagara, pura, nagarī, kheṭa, kharvata, kubjaka and paṭṭana— and all must have walls, ditches, gates, parks and temples. But the Rajagṛha-Vidhāna and Rājāṅga-Lakshaṇa, Devālaya and Pratimā-Lakshaṇa, constitute the main theme of Mānāsara and other Ekabhūmis (one-storeyed buildings) and dvitalas (two-storeyed buildings) there are, probably these are middle-class houses, but Chandrakānta, Meghakānta, Sambhukānta, Vajrakānta, Kalingakānta, Magadhakānta and other types of ten-storeyed, eleven-storeyed and twelve-storeyed buildings, serve as examples of architectural 'abstractions', of constructional engineering lifted, in the midst of endless leisure, to the cloudland of pure fiction.

To the authors of the Śilpaśāstras, the city was no longer a full-fledged collective settlement, consciously planned to satisfy man's social needs and "multiply both their modes and methods of expression". The traditional "collective" was, of course, still there in the city-planning but it was the semblance of "collective" and not its real life and content, which were fast declining. The city was no longer functioning fully "as the specialised organ of social transmission."[80] *The architects of ancient India had already oriented the city toward fixity, toward the priestly cult of*

permanence and eternity as opposed to the collective faith and dynamics of life.

V

The problem of housing the gods was probably first solved when it arose by accomodating the gods in a corner of man's own house. Gods were then *gṛhadevatās* and *kuladevatās* or household gods. Then appeared the *grāmadevatās* or village-gods with separate houses or 'shrines', and in course of time the *nagaradevatās* or city-gods with gigantic temples arose with the palaces of the kings.

22. GṚHADEVATĀS AND GRĀMADEVATĀS OF INDIA

Devatās are countless in India and some sort of enumeration would be necessary to give an exhaustive account of all of them. A brief account of some 'gods' of the primitive would serve our purpose. The *Andamanese* have two principal gods, Bilika (Puluga) and Teria (Daria) and both are personifications of the two main winds blowing in the islands, the first of the north-east monsoon, the second of the south-west monsoon.[82] By the side of most of the Jaghi *Birhor* hut in Chotanagpur, is a sacred grove called jayar.[82] The *Munda* villages still retain a portion of original forest to serve as sarnās or sacred groves.[83] Both *Hill Kharia* and *Dudh Kharia* settlements have their sacred groves.[84] The *Oraons* have one or more Śāl groves, now dwindling down into one or more solitary trees in some villages, where their gods reside.[85] The *Santhals* have their sacred groves near the end of their village streets.[86] Some of the *Nagas* erect trees and tall bamboos covered with leaves near the villages to celebrate their gennas.[87] In the *Garo* villages there are always a number of long bamboos with leaves on, placed upright on the ground in front of and close to many houses, which are the abodes of their gods.[88] In the vicinity of the *Khasi* village, not more than a few hundred yards away, are to be seen dark woods of oak and other trees where their village deity resides.[89] In the villages of Bengal the majority of grāmadevatās still live a very simple life in sacred groves and under trees and cannot afford the luxury of dwelling in specially erected 'houses'. The Dravidian grāma-

devatās are also as simple as peasants and most of them are without any shelters.[90]

The gods, it seems, were nomads in the beginning. How could 'nomadic' men afford to worship 'settled' gods? When men had to clear jungles for their dwellings, the trees cut down served them for house-timber, houses were built and probably some trees were left intact to serve the purpose of the *sacred grove.* In Munda and Santhal villages the survival of this procedure can still be traced. Although the greater portions of the primeval forest have disappeared under the axe, many a Munda village still retain a portion of original forest to serve as sarnās or sacred groves.[91] When the Santhals build a new village, a number of men become possessed by the national *bongas* and in this state show where the sacred grove is to be located.[92] It seems, therefore, that in the stage of hunting and shifting cultivation, when the 'settlements' of men shifted from one place to another, the 'sacred grove' also shifted with them. When as agriculturists men settled down in permanent villages, the question of settling the gods arose and gods were settled in permanent groves, trees and other places, but all of them were not necessarily 'housed'. *Probably gods first shared the dwelling house with gṛhapatis as gṛhadevatās and then they were housed in separate village shrines as grāmadevatās.* It must be remembered in this connection that in India, the archaeologists have not yet been able to dig out a single structure of 'village shrine' from the Neolithic settlements of Sind and Baluchistan and the 'temple', though long anticipated, is still eluding the grasp of the diggers in the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. But clay-figurines of mother-goddesses have been found in abundance in these sites. The evolution of Devālaya or the 'house of god' in India is, therefore, not easily traceable. This much we can say that *the status of gods appears to be correlated with the status of men and their living conditions.*

23. ŚMAŚĀNA AND MEGALITHIC CULTURE

Beyond the grāma we must also look into another important place, the *śmaśāna* or the burial and the cremation ground—India's holy place of hoary antiquity—for the evolution of gods and temples. In India the cult of 'stone' is also one of the most primitive cults and sacred stones and

gods of stone are numerous.* This cult of stone and the holiness of the śmaśāna combined to create *Śiva,* perhaps the dearest and the most magnificent of all national gods of India's millions. And the fertility cult, associated with the 'phallic' symbol, moulded the stone into the image of Śiva. In the śmasāns, out of the ashes of men a number of gods arose in India and, out of the ruined models of burial mounds, monoliths, stone-circles and dolmens, the shrines and temples of India were built.

If we visit the primitive śmaśānas we shall find a large number of monuments of stones built for funerary and cult purposes. These monuments are usually built of large natural blocks of stone, few may be slightly shaped, and are called 'megaliths'. They have been classified by the archaeologists into the following groups, according to their principal architectural features:[93]

Menhirs: Large single stone pillars of varying heights, vertically planted on earth.

Cromlechs: A number of menhirs arranged more or less in circles, also called 'stone-circles'. It may be elliptical or in rare cases rectangular.

Alignments: Rows of menhirs, arranged in open lines, well-nigh rectilineal.

Passage Graves: Dolmens approached through slabsided or roofed gangway.

Dolmens: Vertical slabs or blocks of stone supporting a roof slab, the whole being of room size and approximate shape. These may or may not be covered with mounded-up earth.

Trilithons: Two menhirs supporting a roof stone.

Stone cists: The cists or coffins in stones. May be degenerate dolmens or passages reduced to grave size.

* Stones are the objects of religious reverence among many peoples of the world. Africa and India may be called the true "homes" of "stone idols". Dr. Karsten in his book "The Origins of Religion", suggests that the stone "on account of its hardness, is believed to possess supernatural powers". But 'hardness' alone does not make a thing 'supernatural' in the primitive world. *The 'mana' of the stone is to be sought in the original 'function' of the stone, in the tremendous role the 'stone' tool has played in the struggle for existence of man for several thousand years since the dawn of civilisation. At a somewhat higher stage of culture, stone was carved into a certain human likeness.*

Now let us make a short survey of some of the śmasāns of the primitive tribes of India in different regions:[94]

Central India: The Gonds erect memorial stones, the stones varying according to the importance of the deceased, those for prominent men being 8′ high.

Chotanagpur Region: The śmaśān of the Mundas adjoins the village basti and consists of a number of big stone slabs lying flat on the ground or propped up on small chips of stone at the corners. These are called by the Mundas "The House of the Dead", *Śmaśān-diri* or burial mound. The Hos also have been found to build memorial stones or menhirs in their śmaśāns.

Assam: In the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills the first object which strikes the eye is the large number of menhirs, cromlechs and dolmens. The Angami Nagas erect stone menhirs, but the graves of the Semas are mounds of earth in front of their houses, surrounded, in the case of men only, by a low fence with a little thatched roof above it. The Mikirs set up memorial stones in memory of important personages, such as *gaonburas* (village headmen). The Garos plant the *kiṁaṣ* or memorial posts erected for the deceased members of their family under the eaves of their houses.

South India: The Todas build a 'funeral hut' on the model of dairies within a stone-circle for the reception of the dead body. It is left standing after the funeral of men particularly and may be used on a second occasion. The Badagas worship cromlechs. An upright stone, enclosed within a stone-circle, is still the only temple of the Irulas. The Kurumba's temple consists of a stone-circle in the centre of which stands a block of stone. The Kurubas, allied to Kurumbas, worship the graves. The Malai Ariyans have burial mounds or tumuli, surrounded by long splintered pieces of granite set up on the edge.

24. DIFFUSION OF MEGALITHIC CULTURE IN INDIA

The survey indicates that "Megalithic" culture is widely distributed all over India, associated with both the Austric-speaking and Dravidian-speaking peoples and also with the Indo-Mongoloids. Speculations, therefore, have been rampant so long among scholars about the introduction and diffusion of Megalithic culture in India.[95] We are now fairly certain that it was introduced in India by the Mediterraneans. But, as has been pointed out by Dr. B. S. Guha, there is not one uniform type of this Mediterranean race in India, rather a number of closely graded types. This group was probably differentiated in the Southern steppes of Northern Africa and the adjoining Asiatic mainland, and at the close of the Ice Age, drifted both westwards and eastwards. We can distinguish three distinct types of this race in India of which, according to Dr. Guha, the first and the most ancient one closely resembles the Proto-Egyptian type and may be called "Palae-Mediterranean". This earliest Mediterranean type retains some of the Negroid traits. It is the prevalent type among the human skeletons found in burial jars at Aditanallur and in the cairns of Deccan, belonging probably to the beginning of the Christian era. It is likely however, says Dr. Guha, that it arrived much earlier and introduced the megalithic culture in late Neolithic times and subsequently dispersed towards the South to form the dominant type among the Dravidian-speaking peoples.[96] *The diffusion of Megalithic culture-traits in Central and North-East India, in course of the drift of the Palae-Mediterraneans from North to South, and their gradual assimilation by the older Proto-Australoids, does not seem, therefore, unlikely.*

25. ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MEGALITHIC CULTURE IN INDIA

For our purpose, that is, from the point of view of the religious architecture in India, the following 'traits' of Megalithic culture may be isolated:

(i) *Śmaśān-diris* or burial stones and mounds of earth, surrounded by a fence of wood or stone.

(ii) Funeral huts of circular and conical type (Toda dairy) within stone-circle.

(iii) Monoliths or Menhirs with stone-circles.

(iv) Cromlechs or stone-circles.

(v) Dolmens: A series of orthostatic blocks of stone set up on edges, roofed with horizontal slabs laid across the tops or the uprights.

Architecturally speaking, these are the most important traits of Megalithic culture in India and these burial structures, it must be noted, are all associated with religious rites. The most significant thing here is the 'sepulchral circle'.[97] The 'circle' plays a considerable part in the religious architecture of India and we must not forget that India is a classic land for the translation of wood into stone.

Sociologically speaking, the Megalithic culture-complex in India is positively correlated with the rank and status of persons, the size and structure of the memorials being dictated by the ranks and status of the dead. The tribal chiefs, heroes and village headmen, were already emerging into the status of gods and their memorials were evolving into shrines in Megalithic India.

26. ŚMAŚĀNA AND STŪPA

Now we are in a position to indicate roughly the origin and evolution of devālayas or temples in India. From the pre-historic sites of Baluchistan, Sind and Indus Valley, not a single structure of shrine or temple has yet been unearthed. In the absence of any such shrine or temple we cannot say what exactly the Pre-Arayan model of Devālaya was which the Aryans might have adopted for their purpose. Archaeologically we are still in the dark about this. Ethnologically, we can at least try to reconstruct a more or less consistent history of the devālayas from the data already collected and collated briefly above.

As the Aryans were battling forward along the Ganges valley towards the East, towards the Vindhyas, and across the Vindhyas towards the South, they were surely passing through the Śmaśāns of the Pre-Aryan Niśāda-Śabaras and Dāsa-dasyus and witnessing the burial mounds, monoliths,

cromlechs and dolmens, erected by them in memory of their tribal chiefs, heroes and headmen. The idea of erecting some such memorials for their own tribal chiefs, heroes and headmen, might have dawned on the Vedic Aryans as they were practising both burial and cremation customs. They might have erected such structures, at least the mounds and the funeral huts, enclosed within fences of wood and stone. It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit word *Śmaśāna* perhaps etymologically means "stone seat"—"*Sman Sayana*" (Yāska) meaning "couch for body", "*asman sayan*" (Weber) meaning "stone couch". In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* we read: "The Gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and being regionless, they were overcome, wherefore the people who are godly make their burial places *four-cornered,* while those who are of Asura nature, the Eastern and others, (make them) *round* for they (the Gods) drove them out from the regions."[98] This is significant because it shows that the Aryans, while adopting the mound and the fence from the Pre-Aryans, were probably trying to introduce a rectangular type of fence instead of a circular one, to differentiate their superior status from the enslaved Pre-Aryans.

In the *Jātakas* we have several references to *thupas* (stūpas) or earth-mounds, built upon the remains of the dead.[99] The *Sujātā Jātaka* relates that a landowner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow and carrying his bones from the place of cremation, he erected an earth-mound or *mattikathupa* in his pleasure-garden, where he visited from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and lamented. Another Jātaka gives an interesting account in much more details, of the obsequies of a king. The ministers made a funeral pyre with a hundred wagon loads of wood. On the spot where the body was burnt, a *chetiya* or shrine was erected and honoured for seven days. The burnt skull (Śisakapālam) inlaid with gold was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff serving as royal insignia and was honoured. It is therefore clear that *the Pre-Aryan burial-mounds were not only adopted by the Vedic Aryans to serve as memorials for their chiefs and heroes, but before the advent of Buddha, at least in his life-time, the memorials of the kings and the rising landed aristocracy were also built in the model of the mound, and some of these mattikathupas and chetiyas were developing into 'shrines'.* And, after Buddha's death, his ashes rose the giant *stūpas.*

When we come to Asoka, the greatest builder of Buddhist India and perhaps the first translator of wood into stone, we find that he erected a vast number of *stūpas* to enshrine the relics of Buddha and Buddhist saints. He also adopted the circular type of fence to enclose the stūpa. The most famous of these is the great stūpa at Sānchi, near the ancient city of Vidiśā. Here the original mattikathupa or earth mound has subsequently been encased in sandstone blocks, while a circular stone railing replacing a wooden original and still later four highly decorated gateways, have been added. The Sānchi stūpa was also enlarged to nearly twice its previous size and the crest of the dome was surmounted by a superstructure consisting of a square railing enclosing a pedestal which supported the shaft of a triple umbrella. The umbrella is the symbol of royalty. The Barhut stūpa, about a hundred miles from Allahabad, and the Amarāvatī stūpa in the South, have similar architectural features. The massive stone-railings are really the wonders of Buddhist India. *If this railing constitutes one of the most significant features of Buddhist art and architecture, it must be admitted that it has been entirely derived from the Megalithic substratum of Pre-Aryan India, that is, from the stone-circles of primitive Śmaśāns.*

Asoka's *pillars* are huge tapering monoliths of hard sandstone, forty or fifty feet in height. These stone pillars were erected and distributed over a wide area with edicts inscribed on them. It has been suggested by some scholars that it was from Iran that Asoka borrowed his sermons in stone and that Asoka's columns with their bell-capitals show clearly their "Persepolitan origin". But it seems that if there is any such origin at all, it is because both the Iranian and the Indian monoliths have been ultimately derived from their original home (if there was any "single home" of origin at all) of Megalithic culture-complex—the East Mediterranean zone. And *it was not from Iran, but possibly from the monoliths of the primitive burial-grounds of India, that Asoka derived his inspiration, probably during his dharma-yātrās or "tours of morality", for erecting the massive monoliths to propagate his religious sermons.* It is significant that the Asokan monoliths are mainly concentrated in the North-East and Central India, round about the Megalithic culture-regions.

The beginning of the *Caitya hall* is to be traced at the rock-cut chambers of the Asokan period in Barabar Hills, few miles north of Bihar, of which the Lomas Rishi and Sudama caves are most notable, their

interiors being very similar. Inside is a barrel-vaulted hall just like a Toda hut and at the end is a separate circular cell with a domed roof. The cell has an overhanging eave outside like a thatch. It is an exact lithic copy of circular or beehive type of hut. Two other instances of this type preserved in widely separated areas may be seen, one in a rock-cut chamber at Guntupall in the Kistna district of Madras Presidency and another at Kondivte near Bombay. Both are later than those in Barabar Hills, but are exact copies of circular huts with conical thatched roofs resting on a framework of wood. Structural examples of this type appear to have been built at Taxila about the 1st century B.C., of which the temple at Sirkap is an illustration.[100]

The circular and beehive type is also the predominant type of hut represented in the sculpture of Sānchi and Bārhut pillars. These bas-reliefs represent mainly two types of huts—(*i*) small domed huts used as residence by holy men and (ii) huts with semi-circular gable. In a bas-relief on the inner face of the left pillar of the eastern gateway of Sanchi are represented a fire chapel with a domed roof and simple leaf hut with a circular dome. In a bas-relief in a panel of a corner pillar of the ground railing of Bārhut stūpa, there is a building labelled "suddhamma devasabhā" which looks like a regular temple. This temple-like building has a two-storied domed roof modelled on the dome of huts. Whereas the dome of the huts as a rule, is in four sections the spire of the building is circular. These domed huts, says Chanda, may be the simplest type of *kūṭāgāra* referred to in the Pali texts. The method of its construction appears to be a favourite simile with the authors of the Nikāyas. Thus in the Samyutta Nikāya it is said : "Just as in a peaked house, brethren, whatever rafters there are all converge to the roof peak, resort equally to the roof peak, are fixed together in the roof peak, all go to junction there, even so whatever wrong states there are all have their roof in ignorance, all may be referred to ignorance, all are fixed together in ignorance, all go to junction there". This kūṭāgāra or domed hut was also one of the five kinds of dwellings which Buddha allowed his monks to live in.[101]

27. THE "CIRCULAR FORM" IN THE RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA

The "circular form" is one of the most important and basic 'forms' in the religious architecture of India. But 'form' itself, in all Arts including

Architecture, is totally meaningless if it is not viewed in proper relation to its 'content' or 'funcion'. There is no doubt that the "circular form" was functionally related to the dwelling house of man in India in the beginning. It is difficult, if not impossible, to locate its origin in India or elsewhere, and also to study its elaborations, diffusion and range of distribution in India. That is not exactly my task here. Without diverging into these details, it may be pointed out here that it may still be found as a dwelling house-type in some regions of India, for example in some parts of Andhra and among the Chenchus of Hyderabad. But that does not preclude the possibility of its falling into disuse as a 'collective' and 'individual' dwelling house-type among a larger section of people distributed over far wider regions in India. We cannot, of course, say that practical utility or economic motivation alone was invariably determinative in the partial disappearance of this 'circular form' as a dwelling house-type in India. In fact, particular societies do at times undergo genuine losses of specific 'items' of their culture, owing to a variety of causes, such as environment, economy, loss of materials or skills, shrinkage of population and other known and unknown factors. In 1912, Dr. Rivers demonstrated a series of convincing examples of such disappearance of useful arts in Oceania, arts of unquestionable utility such as canoes, pots and bows. A particular house-type is certainly a useful art and the partial disappearance of the circular type as a dwelling house in India might be ascribed to a variety of causes. But this circular type was also adopted and specialised for the construction of 'special houses', associated with magico-religious function, such as the Toda dairies, the Muria 'ghotuls', the Manbhum 'harisabhas' and the Bengali golās and ghāni-ghars. *The circular house-type which was once embedded as a purely material 'trait' in some particular culture-pattern, was interwoven as a magico-religious trait with some other or later culture-patterns in India.*

The "circular form" also rises from the primitive burial grounds of India as a significant form, associated with the same magico-religious function. The śmaśān 'moulds' become *mattikathupas* and these thupas or earth-mounds naturally assume circular or domed shape in course of time. *Thus one and the same "circular form", arising from both the Land of the Living and the Land of the Dead in India, merges into a mighty form and intensifies the magico-religious function. After this merging and heightening of the religious function, it becomes understandable why*

this basic circular form, with its subsequent elaborations, was made to crown the spires of temples in South India (Drāviḍadeśa).

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BUDDHIST PARADISE CULTS IN SIXTH CENTURY CHINA*

by J. LEROY DAVIDSON

In order to reach an understanding of those attitudes in China during the sixth century which led to the election of specific texts to depict the *Lotus Sūtra* and associated gospels, it is profitable to analyze the iconography of the small and unified compositions carved on numerous stelae. It is even more rewarding to study the greater mass of material found in the huge complexes of the sixth century cave temples. The temple carvings add little to our iconographic knowledge but the sheer weight and repetition of their evidence make clear the changing stylistic factors that corresponded to equally significant psychological trends.

The most important of the sculptural sites during the first part of the sixth century were the Cave Temples of Lung Men near Loyang in Honan.[1] These caves were begun in 495 shortly after the Northern Wei court was transferred from Ta T'ung.[2] Although considerable work at Lung Men was carried on until the beginning of the eighth century, our immediate interest is limited to those caves which were sculptured during the first half of the sixth century.

It is obvious that the *Lotus Sūtra* maintained the importance manifested during the preceding quarter century at Yun Kang. The frequent appearance of the paired Buddhas. Śākvamuni and Prabhūtaratna, offers ample evidence of the devotion accorded that text.[3] In addition, the motives of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* are abundant. In most instances the facing figures of Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti appear in spandrels above niches in which a Buddha sits with his hands in the same *mudrās* commonly shown while preaching the *Lotus Sūtra.*[4] I am strongly inclined to belive that the *Lotus* teaching is implied in this combination, just as it was in some of the stelae where the figures of Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti were inextricably combined with specific representations of the *Lotus.*

The inscriptions in the Lung Men caves are plentiful in contrast to the paucity of written documentation in the Yun Kang complex. Here additional support is given to the belief in the importance of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* at Loyang. It may be assumed from the number of dated ins-

criptions (as well as from stylistic evidence) that the first great outburst of creative activity at Lung Men occurred during the years 495 to 535.[5] Most of the identified inscriptions refer to divinities which are prominent in the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Śākyamuni leads the list with forty-three references. Maitreya takes second position with thirty-five mentions. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kuan Yin) is in third place with nineteen inscriptions. Fewer references are made to other deities: Amitayus Buddha (Wu Liang Shou) receives eight; Prabhūtaratna three and Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha (Yao Shih), only one. Other inscriptions refer to the seven Buddhas of the past, the fifty-three Buddhas, and the thousand Buddhas.[6]

It is significant that most of these deities are among the leading *dramatis personae* of the *Lotus Sūtra*. While each of them appears in other texts, and many have whole *sūtras* devoted to themselves, nevertheless the complex implies an allusion to the *Lotus*. It may be that the devotee as well as the sculptor referred to the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna Sūtra*[7] in which Amitayus is the central figure, to one of the Maitreya *sūtras*,[8] or to lesser known *sūtras*. Yet each of these *sūtras* would inevitably recall the *Lotus* as the mother of all such Mahāyāna texts. Amitayus is accorded only passing mention in the *Lotus* where he is listed as one of sixteen Buddhas and is named as the Lord of the paradise in the west.[9] But it seems certain that it was the prestige of the reference in the *Lotus* that validated the selection of Amitayus as the saviour in the Western Heaven. When, at the end of the sixth century, the cult of the Pure Land became dominant, The Lord of Sukhāvatī, the Western Paradise, was referred to chiefly under the name of Amida or Amitābha (O Mi To), rather than under the epithet of Amitayus (Wu Liang Shou). Maitreya also lost his relative importance with the ascendancy of Amitābha Buddhism.

The inscriptions of the period demonstrate how Buddhism was rapidly becoming sinicized and explain the widespread appeal of Buddhism to the Chinese. Dedication after dedication states how the donor commissioned a sculpture so that he and his parents may be reborn in the Paradise of either Amitayus or Maitreya.[10] Not only does the filial piety so basic to Chinese society find expression in Buddhism, but the practical point of view inherent in Confucian traditions creeps into Buddhist thinking. No longer do we have the Indian desire for mingling in a mystical *Nirvāṇa*, neither the emphasis on the crude magic of the earlier missionaries, nor hair-splitting by

subtle dialecticians. The goal of the Chinese was now neither so lofty nor so low. His new aims were the material delights and security of the Eastern and Western Paradises and these were to be obtained by faith and works. Both these means are stressed in the *Lotus Sūtra.* The believer needed only to develop as he wished that element which offered him the greatest satisfaction. Earlier the appeal to mysticism had been expressed in the elaboration of multitudinous images in the archaic reserve of the Yun Kang caves, the appeal to magic in the resurrection of Prabhūtaratna, and the seductive propaganda in the charm of Vimalakīrti. Now the hope for rebirth in the paradise supplanted the desire for a mystic union in *Nirvāṇa.*

That the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna Sūtra* became the first focus of attention for the devotees of the Pure Land Paradise is significant to this study. For the Amitayus *sūtra* is conceived as if it were a supplement to the *Lotus Sūtra.* Although the *Lotus Sūtra* gives only passing mention to the Buddha Amitayus, the paradises of other Buddhas are described in great detail. By keeping the precepts of the *Lotus* the worshipper can attain to such a paradise. In the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna Sūtra* instruction is given through the legend of Queen Vaidehī on one method of attaining rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitayus.[11] That method is meditation (*Dhyāna* in Sanskrit, *Ch'an* in Chinese). The Amitayus *sūtra* prescribed sixteen different meditations in a sequence which lead to the believer's visualization of the Buddha in his paradise.

Such a doctrine is merely a supplement to the *Lotus* and from the combination of inscriptions and iconography at Lung Men, it is obvious that the interest in the Amitayus *sūtra* derived not in contradiction to the *Lotus* teaching but as an aid toward carrying out the more general directions in regard to certain injunctions of the more comprehensive *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka.*[12] At the end of the sixth century, new conditions caused the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna Sūtra* to be supplanted by other Pure Land *sūtras* and the worship of Amitayus was carried on under his other designation of Amitābha.

During the sixth century the growing interest in the material benefits within the paradises can be detected through subtle manifestations in the art of the first half of this century. The early figures at Lung Men have been considered by many to be the supreme achievement of the Chinese sculptor. In the beauty of their flowing lines and elongated stylizations they have been

properly compared with the magnificent reliefs of Autun, Vezelay and Moissac. But at Lung Men, despite the beauty which is obvious to the sophisticated western eye, close analysis betrays a sprouting materialism which eventually was to bear a sterile seed.

The formula at Yun Kang, which brought the Indian traditions of Central Asia into synthesis with the calligraphic mode of China, still persisted. But the struggle of the craftsman to unite the two opposing styles—a struggle that parallels the sinicization of Buddhism—is absent. Just as Buddhism now offered the easy road to the Sukhāvatī Paradise, so the sculptor accepted a simple formula based on the archaic idealism of the preceding century. Although the basic formula is present, the spirit has been recast. The same sharp planes delineate the features. In fact, the planes are often sharper than those at Yun Kang. Drapery is defined in clearer, tighter lines and more jagged outlines. Both bodies and faces are elongated and reflect the grace of the sweeping outline. The mouth has become sweeter and even more consciously archaic than the true archaic smiles worn by earlier prototypes. Elegance rather than power is the order of the day.[13] If an archaic art may be regarded as mannerist in the sense that Bronzino and Pontormo are mannerists, then we might say that the style of the early Lung Men caves is mannerist.

The appeal that these sculptures must have made to the sixth century Chinese is still evident to the contemporary observer. The assurance of skill manifest in the sharp cutting, the mood evoked by the gentle smile, the satisfaction created by the drapery lines and figural tensions, are all permanent qualities that place these stones among the highest achievements of human artistry. Although they perfectly convey the spirit of contemporaneous Buddhism, it must be realized that that form of Buddhism was already beginning to suffer from a slow sweet poison administered as a tempting narcotic to win mass support.

The lure of the easy road to the Sukhāvatī or the Tusita Paradise could have burgeoned for the masses of the faithful only toward the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Nevertheless the weight of epigraphical evidence in the sixth century confirms the stylistic change. Austerity was being superseded by sweetness, power by elegance. The comprehensive *Lotus Sūtra* had within it, as the Buddha had said, all things for all people. As the personality of Vimalakīrti was needed to attract the

literati so were the Pure Land *Sūtras* developed to supply a simple hope for the millions, rich or poor. The theme was found within the *Lotus,* then isolated and amplified by the Pure Land sects.

Although Amitābha Buddhism was to dominate China for the next two centuries, the *Lotus Sūtra* was still to be regarded as a basic and comprehensive doctrine, not opposing but supporting the Pure Land doctrine. Every concept in the Pure Land *sūtras* can be found in the *Lotus.* It is the emphasis that is different. The all-embracing doctrine of the *Lotus* that united the three vehicles into one and established Śākyamuni as omniscient, omnipotent, and timeless is not contradicted.

Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto has noted in his essay on Lung Men Buddhism that Śākyamuni is frequently shown flanked by two Bodhisattvas and two *śrāvakas* (disciples). This formula is also common to many stelae of the period. Tsukamoto interprets this representation as a visualization of one of the prime philosophic tenets of the *Lotus Sūtra,* namely, that despite the differences between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism there is only one supreme truth.[14]

> "...one has to understand how the Tathāgata by an able device and direction shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle."[15]

Tsukamoto's observation may be amplified by a glance at some other Buddha groups which include not only the Bodhisattvas representing the Mahāyāna and the disciples representing Hīnayāna, but a third pair of figures wearing conical caps. These individuals are Pratyeka Buddhas who represent the middle vehicle, once more united by the *Lotus* teaching in the Ekayāna, the single vehicle.

Though the teaching of the *Lotus* was still to dominate Chinese Buddhist thought for a century, it was a thought that was to derive less and less directly from the Lotus and more from the Amida *sūtras* with their emphasis on rebirth in the Western Paradise.

The sauve character of Lung Men sculpture is paralleled by individual dated statues which mark in their chronological sequence the progressive humanization of the deities as the mundane benefits of the Western Heaven absorbed the thinking of the Chinese Buddhist. The early Lung Men style is clearly reflected in the superb Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna of 518 in the Guimet Museum, Paris. Rightly considered one of the masterpieces of Chinese sculpture, this small bronze reflects the early Lung Men style with

its sharply exaggerated drapery stylizations, the consciously archaic planes of the cheeks, and the elegantly attenuated bodies.[16] All the true archaic details are present. It is only in the too complete mastery of the rendering, in the ever so slight bravura of the swinging drapery that one senses the new direction. Within twenty years the trend was well established and clearly defined. In the von der Heydt stele of 536 there is no longer doubt as to the direction Buddhist sculpture was to take.[17] The fragmentary remains of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī on the reverse of the stone provide a secondary basis for considering the Buddha group on the front as a representation of the Lotus *Sūtra*. The Buddha in the centre flanked by a Bodhisattva disciple, and a guardian also conforms to Nagahiro's recognition of the iconography of the *Lotus*. It is the style rather than the iconography which now attracts us. Qualitatively this stone, like the Guimet bronze, is a masterpiece of an epoch. But in the eighteen years intervening between these two landmarks the trend which became recognizable in the comparison between the Yun Kang and Lung Men carvings has now become obvious. Only traces remain of the archaic planes of the cheeks which have been transformed into rounded curves. The *petite* mouth still smiles, but it is closer to the sweetness of a human smile. The drapery has undergone an equally conclusive metamorphosis. The stylized folds have lost their jagged independence and sharp contours have been replaced by scalloped edges. The robe is still a design in stone and on stone, but the loosening of the folds shows a growing interest in rendering the visual appearance of the textile as cloth, as the rounding of the cheeks indicates the drive toward reproducing a human rather than transcendent beauty.

This evolution may be clarified by a stele formerly in the collection of C.T.Loo.[18] Dated by an inscription of 527 this stone indicates the transition that was taking place at the end of the third decade of the sixth century. The front of the stele represents a standing Buddha, probably Śākyamuni, although similar representations of Maitreya as a Buddha are known. The figure was originally part of a trinity formed by a Boddhisattva at each side. The subsidiary figures which might have offered a more definite identification of the deity have been removed. A Buddha group appears at the top of the nimbus (back) and, in the central register below, the Mañjuśrī-Vimalakīrti scene. Once more it is likely that the subordinate Vimalakīrti story serves to identify the larger Mahāyāna and *Lotus* context. It is the subtle change

of style between this stone and both the earlier Guimet bronze and the later von der Heydt stele which illustrates the development that occurred decade by decade. The face of the Buddha, although somewhat broad, has all the archaic mannerisms of the first quarter of the century. The drapery, on the other hand, although still flaring out at the hem, has lost much of the tight angular formula and has been softened. The relief details over the legs have loosened into the rounded scalloped pattern that is to be seen completely developed in the von der Heydt stone made ten years later.

The trend which developed during the fourth decade of the century seems to have accelerated toward the middle of the century. The stele of 543 in the Gardiner Museum, Boston, shows a distinct change.[19] The iconography (front) consists of a Buddha with disciples and Bodhisattvas at both sides. Our intimation that this represents Śākyamuni preaching the *Lotus* is confirmed by the typical *mudrās* and the representation of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna (back).

The central Buddha on the front is by this time designed as a flattened cylinder. Almost all trace of the early flaring drapery has disappeared, and the intensity of the jagged folds has been replaced by a series of decorative and conventional curves. The faces become bland and simply modulated. The low relief of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna on the reverse is, however, an example of even more altered style. Here for the first time in Chinese Buddhist sculpture drapery is rendered in a purely naturalistic manner. Soft folds conform to the contours of the figures and there is an impression of flesh under cloth rather than a single symbol for body and textile.

The dichotomy of style between the front and back of the stele requires explanation. A possible answer may be that the front was carved by the master who might be expected to represent the more conservative tradition, while the back, less conspicuous, was done by an assistant more strongly imbued with the new spirit. Actually the presence of two hands can be sensed on many stelae.

There is an alternative explanation which seems probable. The front is carved in high relief and derives, as we have seen, from Central Asia and ultimately from the amalgamation of the Gandhara and Mathura styles of India. The basic formula was recast by Chinese craftsmen, but all its development was based on the original inspiration. The Śākyamuni-Prabhūtaratna group, on the other hand, is so different that only iconographic details

recall its non-Chinese prototypes. The style of the flowing lines of the drapery seems to find its source in the calligraphic line of the Chinese brush. Unfortunately, Chinese paintings of the period are extremely rare, yet one example does remain. In cave 12°N at Tun Huang the same Buddha group is painted on the left wall.[20] The date of 538-539 for the cave is almost contemporaneous with that of the Gardiner stele. In the Tun Huang cave we are presented with a similar phenomenon. The faces of the Buddhas relate in their thin construction to the Guimet bronze of 518, yet the loose handling and freedom of the drapery are almost identical with the figures on the Gardiner stele. The variation in style is even more marked when other Buddha groups in cave 120N are compared with the figures of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna in the same cave.[21] The former are translations from stone carving into paint. They are even somewhat retarded in style and, in a manner found almost two decades earlier in sculpture, great emphasis is given to the sweep of the flaring draperies. How can one account for this divergence in style between the paired Buddhas and the related figures? It seems likely that some well-known painter, a few years ahead of his contemporaries in style, had made a "picture" of the meeting of the two Buddhas; that the picture rapidly became famous, and that the imitations became models upon which the Gardiner and Tun Huang representations were based. Although there is no evidence to prove this hypothesis, some corroboration may be found in the story of at least one other scene. There is one design of a Buddhist subject, "Brushing the Elephant", which is known through many copies. This derives from Chang Seng-yu who lived during the first half of the sixth century.[22] Copies of this painting differing only in details and quality are still being produced. In fact it might be said that no painting of this subject is known that does not betray to some extent the influence of Chang.

Let us assume that a metropolitan or advanced style, now lost, once existed. Although at times extant monuments may show what were prevailing trends (and a conservative tradition is to be expected in religious art), it is probable that some painters in certain centers of advanced culture anticipated the works of traditional and conservative craftsmen by at least a few years. One example of such work exists in the carvings on a controversial sarcophagus (William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri) which is now generally accepted as an authentic work of the sixth

century. The landscapes on these stones are far more developed than those of any other known work of the period.

The converse holds true of the Wetzel stele in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Although this stone was sculptured in 554, most details of carving, especially the loosely scalloped drapery, recall the manner of the fourth and fifth decades, rather than that of the second half of the century. This is particularly true of the representations of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. Here the protagonists have neither the easy position nor the flowing lines observable as of ten years earlier, on the Gardiner stele. The figures which are directly frontal and the drapery which is rigid and slightly flaring at the bottom combine to produce an hieratic form. Yet this retarded manner is carried on with no diminution in quality. Indeed, the Wetzel stele is probably one of the finest examples of the stone carvers' work to survive from sixth century China. Some trace of the new spirit appears in the guardian lions in the register below the scene of Śākyamuni preaching the *Lotus*. The animal to the left is carved in the extremely low relief which derives from the indigenous art of Han China. The lion on the right is more deeply cut, more fluid in details, and thus more naturalistic in its general concept. Obviously two different hands are represented. One may suppose that an older master craftsman carved the main scenes and that an apprentice imbued with the newer spirit was given the chore of carving a minor element such as the lion.

The urge toward greater visual mimesis, supported by the philosophic emphasis on the delights and beauties of the Western Paradise, were combined during the latter half of the sixth century with greater elaboration of detail and more emphasis on surface elaboration.[24]

The same stylistic elements are apparent in a homogeneous group of stelae which derives from the northern province of Chili. Both the character of these stones and a series of dated inscriptions which they provide make it possible to assign them to the third quarter of the sixth century.[25] A rather high relief dominates the surface of these sculptures. The plane is also broken by large and small reticulations which were probably designed to enhance an already rich play of light and shade.

On one such stele, in the Cleveland Museum of Art, there are iconographic elements which deserve our attention. At the front of the stele, carved at the top and supported by six *apsaras*, is the stūpa of

Prabhūtaratna. The seven Buddhas of the past, shown below the *apsaras*, repeat the curved form of the stele as do the *apsaras*. Below these is the central and most important group on the icon. A large Buddha with a disciple and Bodhisattva at each side has been sculptured against such large reticulations that the figures seem to be in full round. Actually there are other figures on the reverse of the sculpture. Below the Buddha crouch two protective lions treated in a sinuous Indianizing style far different from the archaic formulae used during the preceding fifty years. The front base of the stele is decorated in lower relief with worshippers, guardians and a censer ; the back with minor nature "gods".

For us the major significance lies in the identification of the seated Buddha. Ordinarily when the stūpa of Prabhūtaratna is shown above, the Buddha represents Śākyamuni. The *mudrās* are the familiar *abhaya* and *vara* positions usually indicating the *Lotus* preaching. But one great change has occurred. The Buddha's legs are not crossed in the eastern position of meditation, but hang, crossed at the ankles in the so-called western manner. This position would be rare, if not unique, for the representation of Śākyamuni, but is the most common position to be assumed by his successor, Maitreya. The reverse of the stele, on the other hand, shows as the main figure a Buddha, probably Śākyamuni, flanked by two seated Buddhas. Above are three more seated Buddhas, evidently symbolizing those of the past, present and future.

The subordinate position of Śākyamuni in small size and on the back of the stele, contrasted with the representation of Maitreya on the front, links it iconographically with the same sculptures to which it has already been tied by stylistic criteria. The seated Bodhisattvas on either side of Śākyamuni are of special interest. They sit in a position of meditation. One arm is raised so that the index finger may touch the face. The other hand rests on the ankle which is crossed on the opposite thigh from which the leg hangs pendent. This is the position usually reserved to represent Śākyamuni's first meditation or Maitreya's meditation. This position is common in the group of Chili sculptures under consideration. It appears on several stelae illustrated by Siren,[26] but becomes of special importance on a carving dated 565 in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. Here we find a formula to which the Chili craftsmen of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty seem particularly attracted. The *Lotus* as the

inspiration is indicated by the stūpa, within which are two Buddhas, depicted at the top of the stele. The same source is further emphasized by a niche directly below, in which the figures of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna symbolize the identical scene. The main figures, however, are just below and represent two Bodhisattvas in frontal position but with the same pendent legs as those on the Cleveland stele. One of the flanking attendants has been destroyed, but the remaining figure, whose head is somewhat mutilated, appears to be, not a minor divinity, but actually a Buddha. Similar representations of paired Bodhisattvas as the main motive occur on other stelae and their attempted identification has occasioned considerable speculation. A reasonable explanation is that of Dr. Ussher Coolidge, who believes that the two Bodhisattvas represent Śākyamuni and Maitreya.[27] Since the life of every Buddha in his incarnation on earth before his *parinirvāṇa* is supposed to be identical with that of all previous earthly Buddhas, Maitreya's life will include the same incidents that Śākyamuni's last existence comprehended. There are, however, some sixth century inscriptions which record the dedications of two statues to Maitreya. Thus the question as to whether the figures on the Chili stones represent Maitreya twice, or Maitreya and Śākyamuni, remains unanswered. In either case Maitreya has acquired major importance. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns a stone belonging to the group under discussion. The conventional stūpa that appears at the top of this stele symbolizes the *Lotus*. Below the stūpa a Bodhisattva sits between a pair of disciples and Pratyeka Buddhas. The position is identical with that of the Boddhisattva on the Freer stele of 565. Although in this instance the divinity could be either Śākyamuni or Maitreya, the latter seems more likely. If we accept this analysis it becomes obvious that in this group of sculptures the earlier relationship of Maitreya to Śākyamuni is changing. In the stelae with the paired and parallel figures there are two Buddhas of equal importance. In the related Cleveland stele Maitreya dominates Śākyamuni by his greater size and his position on the front of the stone. More and more the earthly Buddha recedes from the popular mind as the immediate saviour and in his place appear the Buddhas of the Tusita and Western Paradises, Maitreya and Amitābha. The Chili marbles with their emphasis on the *Lotus* indicate that the Maitreya form of pietism enjoyed a local supremacy during the third quarter of the sixth

century. Although the worship of Śākyamuni or Maitreya always maintained a hold on the Chinese Buddhist, existing monuments indicate the overwhelming interest in Amitābha Buddha toward the end of the century.[28]

During this period the *Lotus* remained a prime religious and philosophical document, but if the teachers gave their intellect to the *Lotus,* it was to the Sukhāvatī *sūtras* that the people gave their hearts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts
: Müller, F. Max (ed.), *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts,* Oxford, 1894 (*Sacred Books of the East,* XLIX).

Fernald
: Fernald, Helen, "An Early Chinese Sculptured Stela of 575 A.D.", *Eastern Art,* III, 1931, pp. 73-111.

Grottes
: Pelliot, Paul, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang : Peintures et Sculptures bouddhiques des Epoques des Wei, des T'ang, et des Song,* Paris, 1914-24. 6 vols.

Kern
: Kern, Hendrik (trans.), The *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka or the Lotus of the True Law,* Oxford, 1884 (*Sacred Books of the East,* XXI).

Mission
: Chavannes, Edouard, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale, Paris,* 1909-1915. 2 vols. text, 2 vols pls.

Siren
: Siren, Osvald, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century,* London, 1925. 4 vols.

Taisho
: Takakuso and Watanabe (eds.), *Taisho Daizokyo,* Tokyo, 1924-29 85 vols. and 15 vols. of the "Picture Canon."

* The article is an extract from a forthcoming book on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharma-Pnṇḍarīka*) as it appears in Chinese art. Preceding chapters discuss the historical and cultural background of Buddhist China and the implications of the iconography used during the early periods of Chinese Buddhism.

1 *Mission,* Pt. 1, Pls. CLXI-CCLXIV; Siren, II, Pls. 75-91. The most important recent publication is that of Mid(z) uno, S., and Nagahiro, T.: *A study of the Buddhist Cave-temples of Lung-men,*

Ho-nan, Tokyo 1941 (cited below as Nagahiro). A useful appendix by Zenryu Tsukamoto on Northern Wei Buddhism is included.

[2] Nagahiro. p. 1.

[3] E. g. *Mission,* Pt. 1, Pls. CXCV, CXCI, CCXXVI.

[4]a. E. g. *Ibid.,* Pt. 1, Pls. CCXXXIII-CCXL.

[4]b. Davidson, J. Leroy, Traces of Buddhist Evangelism in Early Chinese Art", *Artibus Asiae,* XI, 4, 1948, pp. 251-265.

[5] Nagahiro, chart. p. 449.

[6] *Idem.*

[7] Translated by Takakusu, J.: *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts,* Oxford, 1894, pp. 161-201 (*Sacred Books of the East,* XLIX).

[8] E. g. *Taisho,* nos, 453, 454, 456.

[9] Kern, pp. 178, 389.

[10] For this and the following cf. *Mission.* Text I, Pt. II, p. 389 ff. Cf. no. 251, p. 416. Dated 528, this inscription ordered by a monk and his younger brother dedicates a statue to Maitreya in order that the souls of their parents may be reborn "under the dragon flower tree" (i e. the Maitreya Paradise) where they may be reunited.

[11] *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts, op. cit.,* p. 161 ff. Cf. p. 159, note 35.

[12] Many stelae combine the symbols of the *Lotus* with those of the Amida *sūtras.* Cf. the Philadelphia stelae of 575, Fernald, *op. cit.*

[13] Cl *mission,* Pt. I. P. 1 CIXI ff; Siren, II. Pl. 75 ff.

[14] Nagahiro, p. 15.

[15] Kern. p. 82.

[16] Mizuno, S., *Chinese Stone Sculpture,* Tokyo, 1950, p. 19.

[17] Siren, II, Pl. 176.

[18] *Ibid.,* II, Pls. 152-153.

[19] *Ibid.,* II, Pls. 180-181.

[20] *Grottes,* IV, Pl. CCLVI.

[21] *Ibid.,* IV, Pl. CCLI; V, Pls. CCLVII-CCLX.

[22] Cohn, William, *Chinese Painting,* New York, 1948, p. 35.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 38, fig. 8.

[24] The same stylistic development is apparent in the large complexes of the caves of T'ien Lung Shan (Siren, III, Pls. 206-227); the caves of Hsiang T'ang Shan (Mizuno and Nagahiro, *The Buddhist Cave-temples of Hsiang-t'ang-ssu,* Kyoto, 1937); the Pennsylvania stele (Fernald, op cit.); and the Yale stele.

[25] Siren, III, Pls. 243a-251.

[26] *Ibid.,* III, Pls. 244-247.

[27] In a paper given at a symposium held at the Frick Collection, New York, February, 1949.

[28] Nagahiro, chart, p. 449.

